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ABSTRACT

This research, designed to analyze the process of educational policymaking in York State, focused on the role of the formal governmental structure, especially that of the State Legislature. A comparison between interest group leaders' and State legislators' perceptions of the legislature's role revealed some significant differences. Interest group leaders viewed both the governor's office and the legislative leadership as highly centralized with much control over educational policymaking. Legislators saw decisionmaking power as more diffused, and viewed interest group efforts to influence the upper echelon of discisionmakers as relatively ineffective. (RA)

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Educational Policy Making in New York State with Emphasis on the Role of the State Legislature

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December, 1970

U. S. Department of
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Robert E. Jennings
Mike M. Milstein
Buffalo, New York
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Chapter I

Introduction

Two discernable trends developing contemporaneously, the increasing cost of educating people and the centralization of educational decision making in state legislative bodies, provide the impetus for this study of state-level educational policy making. The first trend, the increasing cost of educating people, is largely a consequence of Americans' valuing of education. This has resulted in more people going to school, staying there longer and requiring ever-more sophisticated and specialized training with more expensive personnel and materials. Education, vital in a technological society such as ours, is now within the reach of an increasingly greater number of people. With greater involvement new critic groups have been formed to monitor the progress of education and make their demands known to educators.

The second trend, the centralization of decision making in state legislative bodies, has accelerated in the past decade. Responsibility for education has long been accepted as a state function, but until recently in many states the actual level of support for education has remained quite low. Today many states are interpreting state-level responsibility for education more broadly. Most states have at least kept pace with the increasing financial needs of education. Beyond this the increased input of 23 states in the last decade has actually outpaced the increased input from local taxation, the traditional support base. Examples include; Idaho (28.2% to 40.8%); Indiana (31.3% to 42.0%); New York (39.6% to 54.8%); and Washington (50.0% to 61.9%). (NEA, 1959 and 1968.)

As the states increase their resource input, educational interest groups (i.e., administrator organizations, school board organizations, teacher organizations, and various education-related citizens' organizations) increase their state-level activities. These groups clamor for education's "fair share" of state resources. At the same time, many state legislatures and executives have lately begun to interpret their roles in educational policy making as active rather than passive in nature. Such concern for the policy-making initiative, noted as early as 1960 in California (Iannaccone, 1967) is beginning to be felt in other states.

Educational interest groups in the past have generally been able to impress state legislative bodies of the special nature of education. Today, for several reasons, they find significant resistance to their demands. First, it is becoming increasingly difficult for educational interest groups to work together. Where, in the past, these interest groups were noted for the close working relationships which they maintained, today the noted feature is disintegration of coalitions. This is largely related to the increasing tempo of teacher militancy which is driving school boards and administrator groups apart from teacher groups. Second, the increasing role of state governments in an ever-broadening definition of public responsibility for other "soft areas" such as medical care, unemployment insurance and other social welfare programs is bound to have an eroding affect upon the support of public education. There are already indications of increasing competition for the public dollar, requiring educators to devise new tactics at the state level to achieve their "rightful" share of that dollar. Due to both factors -- the splintering of the educational interest groups and the increasing demands for the public dollar, many state legislative bodies have taken the initiative in educational policy formulation. This can be seen in efforts to increase specialized legislative staff personnel to scrutinize legislative requests and, occasionally, to originate legislative programs.

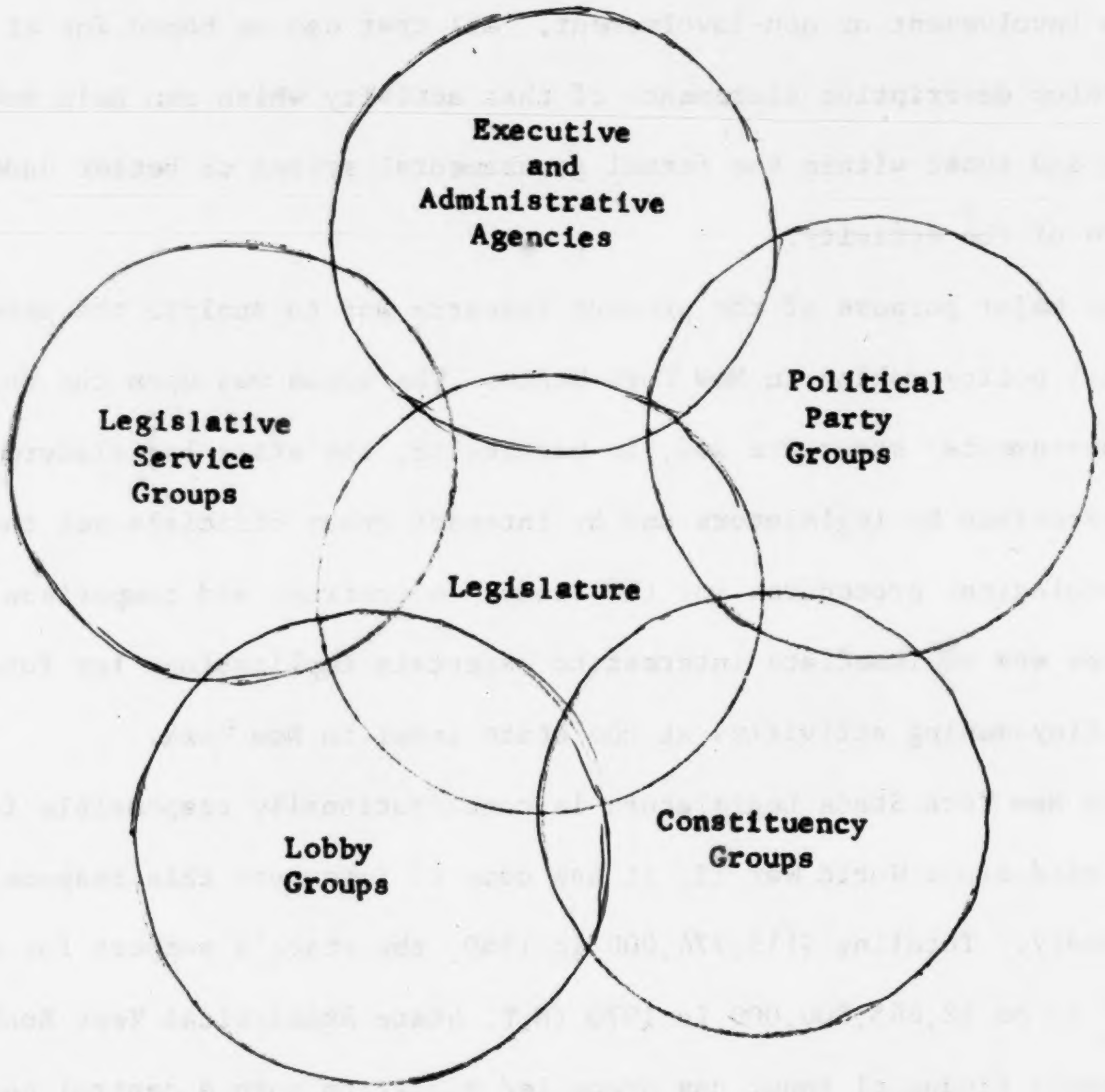
It is disquieting that so few scholars have explored this vital governmental area. Education, especially at the state level, has not until recently been thought of as an area for study in terms of politics, the process from which policies emerge. As late as 1959 it could be said that "Educators have shied away from study of political processes relevant to educational policy, and political scientists have tended to ignore the politics of public education." (Eliot, 1959). Partially filling the void were three books published in the early 1960's. Bailey, et al. (1962), Usdan (1963), and Masters, et al. (1964), scrutinized the power of educational interest groups at the state level. Each work examined the structure of the organization, the means of coalition-making and the ways in which the groups exert influence on governmental processes. However, the processes of policy making within the formal structure of government were not of concern to Bailey or Usdan and only of passing interest to Masters.

The policy-making process can be conceived of as a system in which individuals, groups and organizations compete for the allocation of scarce resources. For our purposes, individuals, groups and organizations are thought of as involved in the policy-making system when their actions are directly related to the process of educational decision making at the state level.

With this definition of the policy-making process at hand, it becomes necessary to include in an analysis of educational policy making, 1) formal governmental organizations; 2) the many agencies and officers which act in their behalf; and 3) the interest groups who interact with them when educational policy making is in process. For example, educational administrators become part of the system when their activities are focused on affecting educational policy making at the state level. Taxpayers' associations become part of the system when they become involved in influencing the formal government on school related matters. The state legislature and the governor's office are components of the system when their activities have implications for the organization and support of education in the state.

Jewell and Patterson (1966), substituting the term "legislative" process for the term "policy-making" process, concluded that "Those who are outside the legislature enter the legislative system when they are interacting with legislators, sometimes when they are interacting with other outsiders -- and when the purpose of this interaction is related to the legislative process." Because the role of formal government and, in particular, the state legislature will be the focus of the study, Jewell and Patterson's "Legislative System Configuration", as modified in Figure I, serves well as a visual presentation of the probable membership within the policy-making system.

Figure I
The Legislative System Configuration (modified)
(Jewell and Patterson, 1966)


Executive
and
Administrative
Agencies
Legislative
Service
Groups
Political
Party
Groups
Legislature
Lobby
Groups
Constituency
Groups

The groups within the peripheral circles can act independently or in various combinations upon the legislative system to affect policies under consideration. It is an understatement to say that such activity is highly complex and often equally subterranean. The groups do not necessarily have to be involved throughout the whole process, nor is it inconceivable that they might come into and leave the process at various stages, depending on whether they see advantages for themselves in involvement or non-involvement. All that can be hoped for at this time is to develop descriptive statements of that activity which can help both the schoolman and those within the formal governmental system to better understand the nature of the activity.

The major purpose of the present research was to analyze the process of educational policy making in New York State. The focus was upon the role of the formal governmental structure and, in particular, the state legislature. How that role is perceived by legislators and by interest group officials set the parameters and methodological procedures for the study. A contrast and comparison of these perceptions was of immediate interest to ascertain implications for future educational policy-making activities at the state level in New York.

The New York State Legislature is constitutionally responsible for education. In the period since World War II, it has come to interpret this responsibility quite broadly. Totaling $115,774,000 in 1940, the state's support for education is estimated to be $2,665,000,000 in 1970 (N.Y. State Statistical Year Book, 1968-69). The increased financial input has propelled education into a central position as a continuing issue area in the policy-making process. Educational interest groups have been forced to focus their efforts at the state level while formal governmental agencies have come to interpret their own roles in educational decision making as activist in nature. Therefore the study explored the relationships which have been built up between the interest groups and the formal government agencies, but surveyed this relationship from the vantage point of the policy-making process within the governmental structure. This is a rather unique focus for studies dealing with educational policy making.

To accomplish the purposes of the study, four research methods were employed: document search, unstructured interviews, structured interviews and indepth survey.

Document search was carried out to help in the initial definition of the problem. That is, documents were explored to help the researchers identify the critical activities and actors in the policy-making process. Documents utilized included political party platforms, legislative committee reports, legislative regulations and by-laws, resolutions, public statements, proposed legislation memorandums, hearings transcripts and interest group publications. Document search was continued through the course of the study to verify, modify and otherwise help shape the analysis.

Unstructured interviews were then held with actors, both within the formal governmental structure and among the interest group leadership, who the document search identified as critical persons in the policy-making process. The interviews were conducted to expand upon the knowledge gained in document search and help to clarify further the focus and parameters of the study. The interviews helped to clarify the meaning of the documentary materials and to place in a clearer prospective, the critical actors in the legislative process. Those interviewed included selected interest group leaders, legislative counsels, executive agency officials such as the Division of the Budget, the Office of Planning Coordination, and the State Education Department.

On the basis of data gathered through document search and unstructured interviews, a sharper focus for the study was constructed. Structured interviews with interest group leaders were then carried out to ascertain their perceptions of the legislative process as it concerns educational matters. The perceptions were later checked against those of legislators to determine the extent of perceptual accuracy under which interest group leaders were operating. Structured interviews were conducted with leaders of the following organizations:

Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc. - Citizens Survey
Conference of Large City Boards of Education - The Big 6
Conference of Mayors, New York State - Conference of Mayors
Educational Conference Board of New York State - Conference Board
New York State School Boards Association - NYSSBA
New York State Teachers Association - NYSTA
United Federation of Teachers - UFT

To establish perceptions of legislators, an in-depth survey instrument, adapted from Wahlke, et al. (1962) was developed.* Of New York's 207 state legislators (150 Assemblymen and 57 Senators) 117 responded to the request for a substantial time commitment to complete the survey instrument (90 Assemblymen and 27 Senators). This represents a 57 per cent response (60% of all Assemblymen and 47% of all Senators). The administration of the instrument is detailed in Section III of the report. The resultant information was coded and processed with a computer program developed at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

To accomplish the purposes of the study the following time sequence was observed:

1. September-October, 1968. Review of the literature; identification of primary actors; schedule of appointments with legislators, committee staff members and officials in the executive branch; and attendance at annual meetings of several state educational organizations.

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*See Appendix B for survey instrument.

2. November-December, 1968. Review of historical support for education in New York State; document analysis; interviews with legislators and other state officials centering on the approaching legislative session; identification of issues; design of survey instruments.

3. January-March, 1969. Observation of activities; continued interviews with government officials and organization officials during the legislative session; attendance at committee meetings and hearings.

4. April-June, 1969. Follow-up on results of the legislative session with state officials and organization representatives. Surveys of legislators and organization members.

5. September, 1969-June, 1970. Collation and analysis of data gathered with some replication of steps 2 and 3 above; write-up of initial findings.

6. September, 1970-December, 1970. Final report of findings with some replication of steps 3 and 4 as a comparative check on findings.

The remainder of the report will focus on the results of research activities. The three substantive sections of the report will be devoted to answering the initiating question of the study: What is the process of educational policy making in New York State? Chapter II will summarize the results of structured interviews with interest group leaders; Chapter III will summarize the results of interviews with government officials and staff personnel; Chapter IV will present the survey data which were elicited from members of the 1969 New York Legislature; and Chapter V will present findings which contrast the perceptions of interest group leaders with legislators.

Chapter II

INTEREST GROUP PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICY PROCESS

The perceptions of interest group leaders and other knowledgeable persons outside of government are reported here. For each major group, the summary consists of:

1) The long-range objectives or major purpose of the group.
2) The leaders' perceptions of the role and influence of legislative actors.
3) The policy process in government.
4) The group's self-perceptions of its own problems which affect its role in the policy process.

The amorphous "public" is considered first, followed by the several education interest groups.

The "Public"

There is a genuine absence in the capital of any organized lobby or coalition of groups opposed to education per se. The major discontent which has a focus is, of course, increased taxation. Yet, the taxpayers' groups believe that there are other areas of state endeavor which have just as much impact on tax policy and increased taxation as does education. In education, however, taxpayers' organizations are bedeviled by the fact that what isn't paid for by state aid to the locality is reflected in local tax increases levied by the jurisdiction. Even these organizations have come to realize that it is best to spread the costs over the entire state rather than concentrate them in separate localities.

The views of legislative process and the influence of the public on that process is represented here by the reports of qualified observers. These include members of the working press who cover the Capitol, an amorphous statewide taxpayers group and staff members of municipal government group, the Conference of Mayors, consisting of city and village government officials in the state. The latter represents the view of general government versus that of specialized government in education.

The Actors

The perceptions of the policy process which follow are distilled from the reports of these observers and are undoubtedly more sophisticated than those of the average layman. At the same time, they are the views of the people who do not have to take a particular point of view on educational legislation. Their concerns are much broader and encompass numerous policy areas.

1) The Governor. The governor is the most visible and singularly powerful force in policy making. Within his broad legislative program for the state, he sets the general directions which educational policy change will take. His high visibility and ready access to the media are powerful instruments of influence over the legislature. At the same time, he holds the political reins which can move legislators behind the scenes. As a final weapon in his arsenal there is the veto power which he has as the final step in the legislative process.

2) The Legislature. The legislative leadership, that is, the Speaker in the Assembly, the majority and minority leaders of both houses, are the key figures in legislative activity. It is only through their efforts that the many diverse interests and viewpoints of individual legislators can be harmonized. The Governor works closely with the leadership in order to put his programs through

the Legislature. The leadership, on the other hand, sees to it that each individual legislator obtains some recognition by introducing a bill or obtaining some local variation for too general state policy. The leadership works assiduously to keep rebellion at a minimum and will not call a bill out of committee or see that it is passed until opposition has been reduced to an absolute minimum. Legislative committees, for example, are kept under tight rein by the leadership which often results in unanimous reporting or unanimous pigeon-holing of bills.

3. The Regents and the State Education Department. There is relatively little understanding or concern for the Regents and the Education Department. The public simply does not understand the role of the Regents and sees the board as an honorific body which makes pronouncements about what should be in education. The Education Department, on the other hand, is a bureaucracy which lobbies inside government to improve its own situation rather than education. This lobbying has as its objective the increasing of the Department's control over education. The Commissioner of Education is seen as the chief lobbyist and in recent years his role as a government official has been viewed as one of being an absolute czar for education.

4. The education groups. At this point in time, the educational organizations are viewed plain and simple as the education lobby. The erosion of confidence in the education groups' selfless and statesmanlike role began with their blatant attempts to engineer the results of the Diefendorf Commission on state aid in 1962. The legislators'

trust of educators broke at that point and has spread through the general public over the past seven years. The seeming philosophy of the educators was that more money equals greater quality of education. This particular philosophy has fallen into disrepute and these observers report that little enthusiasm can be generated at the grassroots for greater school support at the state level.

The Policy Process (A Problem)

The general public has little knowledge and understanding of the state policy process. This is particularly true in terms of education where interest in it as a public endeavor is concentrated at the school district level. Influencing the state level for change does not readily occur to them, save in terms of their own district, or occasionally, their region of the state. Locally originated discontents are communicated to local school boards which may or may not attempt to influence the School Boards Association in the capital. More particularly, discontents are directed to local legislators who then face the task of battling the leadership to achieve the desired local change.

The Education Organizations

The professional and lay organizations concerned with education in New York State have been active in legislative affairs since the early 1900's. Working alone or cooperatively, the New York State Teachers Association, the New York State School Boards Association and the several administrators organizations, particularly the Council of City and Village Superintendents, have brought influence to bear on the legislative process. The Legislature has been the major target of this activity with the Regents, State Education Department and the Office of the Governor being utilized as access points when necessary. The education organization's formal coalition, the Educational Conference Board of New York State, has been the major vehicle for legislative activity in the area of school finance since about 1940. The influence of the coalition has somewhat diminished since 1963 as other issues in educational policy have become at least co-equal with finance. How these organizations view the policy process and the role of the Legislature is the subject of this section.

The New York State Teachers Association

The State Teachers Association (NYSTA), is the oldest continuing state organization of teachers in the world, having been founded in 1845. The sum and substance of its legislative activity has been to improve the working conditions and welfare of teachers at the local district level. One means of accomplishing this end has been the attainment of state policy change by legislation. Thus, the major thrust of the Teachers Association takes place at the capital during the legislative session.

The Actors

The Teachers Association holds essentially the same perceptions of the role and influence of the legislative actors which it has held since the late 1940's when the Association enjoyed a series of successes for its legislative program. These perceptions include the following major points:

1. The Governor. New York has a strong executive branch dominated by the Governor and his immediate group of advisors and counsels. The Governor's program is the blueprint for state activity and the executive budget is the expression of that program with which the Legislature and the interest groups must wrestle.

2. The Legislature. The Legislature is weak compared to the office of the governor. It operates under tight majority party control but in the shadow of executive power. This is true even when the majority party is not the party of the governor.
3. The Regents and the State Education Department. The educational government and the bureaucracy are most usually perceived as allies of the education groups. It is not essential to have the Regents and the Department favorably disposed toward the teachers' legislative programs but it is essential, in view of the Teachers Association, not to have them in active opposition.

The Policy Process

The policy process begins in many places, but for the Teachers Association it begins in their own program for legislative action. The program is drawn by the Board of Directors with the advice of the staff, particularly the Executive Secretary, and approved by the Assembly of Delegates in November. Three tests are applied to the program as it is made up.

1. Assessment of the program's chances of passage judged by the successes and failures in the previous legislative session.
2. Assessment of changes in state financing examined in light of the probable budget to be submitted by the governor.
3. Assessment of the Regents proposals to determine possible points of conflict.

At times, the Association has included in these tests informal conversations with legislative leaders, particularly the Senate leadership where the Republican Majority Leader is a long-time friend of education. Informal review with the State Education Department has also been utilized, particularly for the purpose of identifying potential points of conflict and congruence with the Regents program.

The purpose of these tests is by and large an aid to strategies. The decision whether or not to put force behind a proposal and the access points to be utilized evolve out of these examinations. With a legislature which is very much dominated by the influence of the governor, it is not feasible, in NYSTA's view, to put force behind proposals which his office opposes. The Regents' proposals are viewed in approximately the same way. NYSTA does not feel that Regents' proposals necessarily carry the endorsements of the governor.

Within the Legislature itself the Association's strategy is to reach the leadership in each house. They include in this group the majority leaders and chairmen of the Education Committees in both houses. Where funding becomes involved the chairman of the Finance Committee in Senate and the Ways and Means Committee in Assembly are also important people to reach. In the lower house where the Ways and Means Committee has usually functioned as an arm of the Speaker, this is not a separate effort. The Association can and does supply data and information to the leadership and the committees. Its research office has developed over the years as a competent gatherer and interpreter of facts. This information, in NYSTA's view, is very important to legislators as they believe that the research and study capacity of the Legislature is very minimum. The other major source of information on education matters is, of course, the State Education Department. There is essentially little or no conflict between the Department data and Association data on most issues.

In the panoply of legislative committees, the Association has given no special place to the Joint Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the Education Law (JLC). The Association's view of the committee is that it holds a check on the educational legislation in both houses since it is composed of members from both houses. It is essentially a bridge between the Senate and Assembly and the leaders.

The fact that the JLC chairman is also the chairman of the Senate Committee on Education is of some importance. Given the chairman's standing in education matters with the Senate, it is necessary to reach him on matters of concern to the Association. However, there is no special payoff in doing this through the JLC as it does not have any added influence with the Legislature. The JLC is no better staffed than any other legislative committee and thus from a data and information standpoint the committee is not a force to be reckoned with.

At the same time, as the Association is working with the legislative leadership and the committees, it is also working with the Governor's counsels. This, the Association feels, is a viable route for achieving modifications to the governor's program which would be favorable to NYSTA's proposals. It is also an excellent point of access for explaining why some pieces of legislation should be killed. In addition, there is some opportunity for feedback from the governor's office on the viewpoints of various other organizations. In matters concerning education this particular element is not very strong as the present administration tends to prefer the Legislature as the bargaining place rather than the office of the governor.

The Teachers Association's coordination with the State Education Department on matters concerning educational legislation has been continuing and useful. It has ranged from information and opinion exchange up through joint decisions on legislative strategies. Over the past half century there have been attempts by the Department to extend its hegemony over the education organizations and vice versa. These attempts to capture one another have now ceased and been replaced by consultation and review on each issue.

All of this legislative activity is directed and largely carried out by the Association staff. The Executive Secretary, with the aid of one or two other staffers, conducts most of the discussions with the legislative leadership, the governor's office and State Education Department officials. The elected leaders of the Association appear in Albany when it is felt that their voice is needed at a particularly critical point. Other communication from the field includes letters from the local associations to the various committees and to individual legislators. These campaigns are organized by the Executive Secretary in consultation with the Board of Directors. Through its research office the Association provides information about legislation and its predicted effect on the local units of the Association. Chief school officers interpret this data in terms of the effect on the local school and convey the information to the local legislator. In all this activity there is always the veiled threat of marching teachers and, in recent times, state-wide teacher strike action.

Problems

The New York State Teachers Association faces several problems which are slowly but surely contributing to the breakdown of its legislative activity processes. These include the impact of collective negotiations in public schools, shortages of funds and personnel and the growing fragmentation of the educational interest groups. According to one spokesman, the Association must solve these problems or lose all effectiveness in the area of state education policy-making.

Collective negotiations has had three distinct impacts on the Association. First, teacher militancy from the local level upward has continued to increase, not lessen, with the advent of collective negotiations. It nearly upset the applecart at the 1969 meeting when the Association's Assembly passed a resolution calling for a state-wide strike if the Legislature did not appropriate sufficient state aid funds. This unexpected action upset the Association leadership and the other education organizations which work closely with the Association. It also upset legislators. The consequences were that the Executive Secretary, when meeting with legislators, had to play down this threat before he could get the rest of the Association's story told. The threat was quietly put down within the Association and no strike call was ever issued. But it did make a very difficult year for NYSTA.

A second problem with legislative activity also grows out of the impact of collective negotiations. With their advent and use over the past three years school administrators have been slowly drawing apart from the teachers in the Association. This drawing apart has finally killed the myth of administrator control of the Teachers Association. By constitution and custom this control ended some 15 years ago and yet, teachers in local districts continued to look to their principals and superintendents as natural leaders. Now that they are on the other side of the bargaining table the myth has abruptly disappeared. The effect in legislative activity has been to weaken the communications net of the Association. Where in former times, information and data as well as requests for letter-writing campaigns could be transmitted to teachers in each district through the principals, this is no longer a reliable method. A reorganization of the method which took place two years ago was, in part, to establish a new communications net with local chapter officers. While the structure is complete on paper, it is not yet, however, an operating network.

The third effect of collective negotiations has been the necessity of the Association staff to offer consultative service to local chapters in negotiations. With nearly 700 units designated as the bargaining agents in local districts across the state the manpower resources of the Association have been spread very thin. The timing of negotiations is also bad in terms of legislative activity, for negotiations take place anywhere from December to June, while the Legislature meets from January to April.

There are other shortages of resources within the Association. Legislative activity of the organization is directed by the Executive Secretary. He is also the person who has traditionally been a full-time Association representative with the Legislature and the governor's office. He is assisted by one person specializing in retirement legislation and occasionally by other staff members. In addition, he is in overall charge of the Association's administrative affairs. Clearly then, there is a need for at least one full-time legislative representative. The other shortage of resources has to do with finances. Dues in the Association are $22 per individual membership at the top of the salary schedule in the state and the average Association member pays about $13 annually. With some 140,000 members, the yield is not sufficient to carry out the level of activity which the Association leadership feels it should be engaged in.

Beyond this is the fragmentation of the education interest groups. The administrators organizations are pulling away from the Association on the matter of collective negotiations. The School Boards Association is breaking ties in the same way. Objectives and interests are diverging rapidly in the face of various educational problems in the state. Thus, the Association, which utilized the access points to government developed by the other organizations, must now further develop its own access points. The solidarity which was maintained in the Conference Board is also being affected by this pulling apart of interests. In 1969 the Association was still a major supporter and contributor to Conference Board work and proposals. This too, obviously takes resources. How much longer the Association can continue with this activity both in terms of interest in school finance proposals and the amount of resources it devotes to the activity, it is difficult to say. How it will react in part depends on the next organization to be examined - the New York State School Boards Association.

The New York State School Boards Association

The major effort of school boards association in legislative activity has been to reduce the incidence of taxation on the local school district and shift the burden of financing education to the state. At the same time, it has been concerned with obtaining for local boards the greatest autonomy possible for the operation of local schools. In this manner the Association feels that it is promoting situations where the best possible education program can be locally developed and operated. Over the 50 years of its existence the organization has not lost sight of this objective.

The Actors

Essentially, the Association sees the policy-making powers in Albany as the means to these ends. The perceptions of the interactions of the Governor, the Legislature and the State Education Department within which the Association operates are as follows:

1) The Governor. The chief executive is the paramount figure in policy making. Through his announced program and the instruments which he has at his disposal for implementing that program, the executive budget, control of the political apparatus of the state, and his veto power, the Governor is in command of the process.

2) The Legislature. While not totally controlable by the Governor, the Legislature is not a very independent branch of the government. This is even where the Governor's party holds one or both houses by a small majority, or where one house is in control of the opposition party. In these situations the leadership of the Legislature can

still be convinced by the Governor that an independent course would not be beneficial politically.

3) The Regents and the State Education Department. The Association feels that the power of the Regents as an influence on the Governor and in the state is quite limited. In the past, when the Regents seemed to have power, the Association very frequently followed the lead of the Regents in its policy proposals. However, the Association continues to enjoy the continuation of this aura of closeness, with the realization that the power is gone. The Regents staff, the State Education Department is, on the other hand, highly suspect by the Association. There has always been a latent feeling that the Department generally favors teachers rather than boards of education. Thus relationships with Department staff have at times been strained.

The Policy Process

The policy-making process for School Boards Association begins with its analysis of the Governor's program. This is a continuing analysis carried out by the Executive Director and the Board of Directors of the Association. The Governor's program is compared to the Regents pronouncements and, in matters of finance, the stand taken by the Educational Conference Board of which the Association is a constituent member. In drawing up its own program for the year the Association steers a fairly independent course, laying out what it feels needs to be accomplished in educational policy change for the state. While its proposals often resemble those of the Regents or the Governor, the Association rarely endorses the proposals of others *per se*. The Association reviews the results of the previous legislature as well as the activities of the Teachers Association and the State Education Department. It does not, however, utilize these types of analyses in devising its program but rather in devising its strategies.

The major effort of the Association is to reach the Governor with its proposals. In the past there was rather heavy reliance upon the Regents to speak for all school boards of the state. Over the years, however, this route has been pretty much abandoned due to the changed power of the Board of Regents and in the nature of the operation of the Governor's office. As the Regents are no longer the major advisors on education to the Governor, in the view of the Association, other means must be employed. Over the past several years the Governor's counsels have been a major route by which the Governor may be reached. Where the Association program is concerned, meetings with the Governor's counsels center on the effects of legislation on local school districts and particularly in taxation. Another route coming into use has been through the Division of the Budget, with essentially the same message - the fiscal impact of legislation on local districts. In addition, the Association has close ties with the Office for Local Government. This is a state advisory organization to aid town, village and school district governments. Where matters of change in local government structure or the interrelationships of local governments are concerned the Association utilizes this office as a means to reach the Governor. Incidentally, the Executive Director of the Association is a member of the advisory council for OLG.

The Association's viewpoints on education matters are also presented to the leadership in the Assembly and Senate and to the committees: Public Education, Ways and Means in the lower house and the Education Committee and Finance Committee of the upper house. These relationships are carried out by the Executive Director and his associates. The method of operation varies with the way in which the leaders control their committees. In the Assembly, where the Speaker holds a tight rein on the Education Committee and utilizes Ways and Means Committee as a watchdog over all legislative activity, the Speaker receives more attention than his committee chairmen. In the Senate, where the majority leader is more relaxed and a club-like atmosphere prevails, the committee chairmen receive as much attention as the majority leader.

The Association's relationships with the Joint Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the Education Law have been conducted largely through its chairman who is also chairman of the Senate Education Committee. The Association considers both committees as simply extensions of the senator himself. They consider him well informed and sincere in matters concerning educational legislation. The Association, therefore, believes that there is no special reason to present its case to the JLC once the Senator has been reached.

While much of the Association's effort is directed at reaching people in the Governor's office and the leadership in the legislature, it also directs a good deal of effort toward reaching legislators in their home districts. School board members, it believes, are usually influential people in their own town or county. To corral and concentrate this influence the Association has divided the state into nine areas and, within each, has built a fairly strong area organization. At the various meetings and other functions at the area level, local legislators are invited to attend and hear the opinions of local school board members.

The research capacity of the Association has never been very strong. It does not attempt to supply legislative committees with data. Instead, it relies on local boards working through their chief school officers to present to legislators information which demonstrates the impact of proposed legislation on the local district.

One of the original members of the Educational Conference Board, the School Boards Association has utilized the coalition as a vehicle for changes in state aid policy. Over the years it has generally agreed with the recommendations of the Board having participated in the deliberations which led to their adoption. Occasionally, however, the Association has not been overly enthusiastic about the proposals. These situations have arisen on one of two grounds. Either the Conference Board proposals were not a sufficient advance in state aid to bring further tax relief in local districts or the Board request was so extravagant that it did not have a chance of passage and thus would result in a tax increase at the local level.

Problems

In 1969, the Association still perceived itself as an influence on educational policy-making in the state. However, there are some problems which the organization faces. The leaders realize that problems exist and that they are doing little to find solutions. The problems do not appear to have reached the crisis stage, in the view of the Association, simply because the effectiveness of the organization in legislation has not yet seemed adversely affected.

The first major problem is collective bargaining. While the Association has not committed itself as heavily to aiding local boards as the Teachers Association has to aiding teachers, the impact of collective negotiations is being felt as a drain on resources. Psychologically school boards across the state feel they have been badly disadvantaged in collective bargaining. The Taylor Law, under which bargaining takes place, has been the target of a good deal of criticism, particularly by school boards. They believe that the procedures under the act gives teachers the leverage to get whatever they set out to get. In addition, the no-strike clause of the act does not contain sufficient penalties for violation. Finally, in the three years of bargaining under the act, teachers' salaries have risen precipitously and state aid has not kept pace. This has forced local districts to increase taxes. The entire situation, of course, has driven apart the School Boards Association and the Teachers Association. There was always a little strain in the harmony between the two organizations. Now the relationship is very touchy.

The essential splits among school boards have also weakened the organization. The large and small cities of the state are not represented in the organization in proportion to their size. Each member board has one vote in convention. Thus the board of a rural central school with 800 youngsters is equal to the vote of the board of the City of Buffalo with over 70,000 youngsters in attendance. Even greater, of course, are the differences in problems between city and rural schools and the suburban schools. The ability to gain sufficient financial support through local taxation is enough to mention here.

The school board organization has never been very highly centralized. Its reliance on the area organization and the ability of school board members to reach legislators at home did not auger well for building an Albany office of great strength. A research capacity was never developed fully nor has the organization attempted to provide the financing needed for extensive legislative activity. Instead, School Boards Association developed a more local based area organization which effectively coupled boards with their major professional advisor - the school district administrator.

The Council of School District Administrators

The chief school officers of the state have always felt themselves to be first among equals in the educators' organizations. The precursor of the present council, the Council of City and Village Superintendents, was powerful and persuasive in the state's educational policy process. Now that the Council has been expanded to include the 52 remaining district superintendents and the supervising principals, this view of the role of school administrator leadership continues.

The Actors

The roles of each of the state agencies in the policy process seem to be viewed as follows by the Council.

1) The Governor. The program for education in New York State developed by the Governor's office is a major shaping force. The pronouncements of the governor's office on education matters and the expression of his program in the executive budget are indicators of how much will be done and in what areas the accomplishments will take place. The Council recognizes the political importance which the Governor places on any of his programs.
2) The Legislature. The legislative branch is not viewed as an independent force. Even with the opposition party in control the Governor's power is sufficient to get his program through pretty much in tact. Where modifications of the Governor's program seem necessary the leadership in both houses may be able to obtain the desired compromises from the Governor.
3) The Regents and the State Education Department. While the proposals of the Regents may not have a great deal of influence on the Governor, the views of the Commissioner of Education do. The Council of School District Administrators believes that the opinions and the advice of

the Commissioner and his top echelon in the Department are given careful consideration by the Governor and the legislative leadership.

The Policy Process

The Council's annual meeting each October is the gathering of the education clan in New York State. At this first conference of the school year, attended by leaders of all the education groups upstate, there is developed a rough consensus of the changes in state policy which seem desirable. There are three major strands making up this consensus - 1) some rough assessment of what the Governor's program will be; 2) the results of the educators' efforts before the last session of the Legislature and 3) a quick tabulation of the objectives of each of the several organizations. In the area of educational finance this consensus forms a basis for sharpening the coalitions's proposals. If the Conference Board, the formal coalition of the old line education groups, is engaged in a large-scale study of school finance in a particular year, its preliminary findings are available for discussion by the October meeting. In the absence of a study, the consensus about financial needs becomes a basis for further Conference Board proposals.

The Council's program, developed by its leadership and the committee on legislation, is ratified at convention and it becomes the basis for legislative activity by the Council. In the past this has largely meant utilization of three strategies designed to reach the Governor both politically and in terms of necessities. First and foremost have been efforts by chief school officers at the district and county level in reaching individual legislators. Concerted efforts are made through county and area organizations to tell the story of their districts' needs to the local legislators. Secondly, the committee on legislation and the President of the Council concentrate their efforts on reaching the leadership of the Legislature and the chairmen of committees. Their major targets are the Speaker and the majority leader, the Ways and Means Committee and the Education Committee in the Assembly, the majority leader, the chairman of the Education Committee and the Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate. At the same time the Legislative Committee and the President conduct the cooperative relationships with the other educational organizations both within the Conference Board frame and outside of it. The third and one of the most important elements is the Commissioner's Advisory Council of the organization. Composed of seven superintendents and recognized by the Commissioner of Education, it has the task of maintaining communication with the top echelon of the State Education Department. It is not used to apply political pressure but rather is a place for frequent face-to-face discussion of state and local problems in education. The advisory council provides the Commissioner with up-to-date views and opinions of what seems to be happening and what the possible solutions are. At the same time the Council is apprised of the situation at the state level as viewed by the Commissioner and the Department.

In late January, at the end of the first month of the legislative session, the Council of School District Administrators holds its mid-winter meeting in Albany. The purpose of this meeting is to adjust the strategy for legislation in light of changes in the situation. The major input at this point is the review of the Governor's message delivered to the Legislature at its opening. This is a much smaller meeting than the fall convention and includes a separate session with the Commissioner.

In 1967, the Council appointed its first executive secretary. Its constitution has always included provision for such an office but no incumbent was ever named. Filling this office has added another dimension to the Council's legislative operation by having a person in Albany for continual contact with legislative leadership and, when necessary, the other educational organizations. The appointment is recognition of the increasingly centralized role of state policy-making for education.

The Joint Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the Education Law has been carefully watched by the Council. In 1966, when the JLCbegan to review the provisions for state aid and the formula there was some concern among the administrators about its powers and its mandate. There was a feeling that if the committee recommended changes in the formula these would be acceptable to the Legislature and pushed through without much opportunity for modification by the education organizations. However, when this did not come to pass, the Council relaxed. Since that time the organization has kept a wary eye on the JLC. It has maintained contact with the committee staff and, of course, with the Senator who chairs the committee.

Problems

In 1969, the reorganization of the Council was in its second year. The problems of reorganization have created some difficulties but none of these seriously hampered the legislative activities of the Council. The one continuing problem which has been heightened by the addition of suburban school district principals has been the matter of equity for small cities. A number of Council members have felt over the years that the organization has done more for village and suburban superintendencies than for the cities. The problems cities faced were always one or two levels of magnitude greater than those of other districts. At the same time, however, administrators from smaller districts have been reluctant to join the Council. These people are by and large supervising principals in rural and suburban schools under the jurisdiction of the district superintendent. While they have never been able to put together an independent organization of their own, they still feel lost and submerged in the larger group of superintendents.

For a brief period during the reorganization, the financial status of the Council began to look a bit bleak. With the appointment of an executive secretary the dues of the association were raised so that administrators with higher salaries paid around $90 a year and the average chief school officer was being assessed around $50 per year. Many supervising principals from smaller schools did not join the first year of reorganization simply because they felt the dues were too high and the returns of their school district too small. By 1969 this problem had pretty well faded and the financing of the organization was again on a sound footing.

The full role of the Executive Secretary is yet to be defined. A number of association members believe that his role should be administrative and coordinative. That is, he should keep association accounts, act as a communications link between the Board of Directors and the various committees and see that the various internal functions of the organization go smoothly. Few seem to feel that he should have as active a role in legislation matters as say the Executive Secretary of the Teachers Association, yet he has already done some of this kind of work. In the Conference Board he represents the Council along with the President but as yet has not taken a major role in its deliberations.

The Educational Conference Board of New York State

The Conference Board is the upstate coalition of education groups in New York. Its major interest has been continuing change in state policies for state financing of education. This is the place where the several organizations put aside their differences to join together in common cause for improving state financing of schools. In the past it has been a very effective coalition in placing its case before the Governor, the Legislature and the members of the constituent organizations. Its proposals have been generally well grounded in studies of the financial conditions of school districts and the costs of education.

The Actors

As a coalition the Conference Board tends to view the several participants in educational policy making with a certain equinimity.

1) The Governor. The Conference Board recognizes the power of New York State's chief executive. Within this power they include his ability to influence and control the work of the Legislature.
2) The Legislature. The domination of the Legislature by the Governor is not 100 per cent effective in the Conference Board's viewpoint. By reaching the leadership of the Legislature the Conference Board believes that legislators can be persuaded to modify and even oppose the Governor's program. This may bring the Governor to change his proposals or accept compromises. This arises out of the diversity of access points and strengths which the coalition can bring to the legislative arena.

3) The Regents and the State Education Department. As a coalition, the Conference Board generally feels that the pronouncements of the Regents can safely be ignored when necessary. They do not believe that the Regents have a great deal of effect in influencing the Governor. The Regents staff, the State Education Department, is, however, seen in a different light, that of an ally and an internal lobbying group. This viewpoint has been modified somewhat in recent years due to the fact that the Department has been curbed in its legislative activity. The Board still, however, avails itself of departmental advice in drawing up its program.

The Policy Process

The general consensus among observers in the Albany scene, and indeed among the constituent organizations, is that the Conference Board has lost a large share of its influence over the past seven years. In effect, it is seen as the educational establishment in New York; cautious, conservative and changing only imperceptably. The Conference Board's response to these critics is that the organization is known to the state's leadership and from its history can be expected to speak up when it has differences with state policy. When scored on the failure to recognize urban problems fully or to address itself to the matters of racial imbalance in school systems, the Conference Board response was that state finance policy for education is still the most important problem and since the Conference Board has been effective in this area in the past there is relatively little reason to change its emphasis.

The usual approach to legislative activity by the Conference Board has been to draw up its program, embody it in proposed legislation, have these bills introduced by a friendly legislator in each house and proceed through its constituent organizations to get the bills passed. Variations on the theme have included reaching the Governor and having the board proposals adopted as the state program, or to, in effect, capture a governor's commission or legislative commission and have its program presented by them. Rarely has the Board found the Regents proposals for educational finance acceptable as its total program.

The basis of Conference Board proposals has been its studies of educational finance in the state. As Bailey noted in 1963, these studies were conducted by the Director of Reasearch for the Teachers Association with ideas for new directions being supplied by the late Paul Mort of Columbia University. In the years when a full study was not conducted the proposals would consist of an updating of the conclusions and recommendations of the previous study.

In its deliberations from late fall through December, when the proposals were announced the Conference Board membership would discuss the form of the proposals and assess their impact in various types of districts and across the state. At the same time the political winds would be gauged in terms of reaction from the office of the governor and the legislative leadership. Through all these deliberations commentary by the educational finance people of the State Education Department is available.

Once the proposals have been agreed to and the Conference Board's statement issued, each of the member organizations proceeds to work with its own membership in terms of gaining grassroot support in the local school districts. The State Education Department officials also do some consent building within the Department itself.

Problems

As noted above, the Conference Board is in a state of relative decline. Not only is it viewed by some groups as being the educational establishment of the state with a very narrow scope of interest, but it is also viewed as a low-key action group. Its critics point out that in the last two decades this type of action within relatively confined circles was probably appropriate. In the pressure cooker atmosphere of the 1960's, with a terrific step-up in the pace of problem discovery and the rise of new power groups, the level of Conference Board activity cannot be competitive.

The Conference of Large City Boards of Education

The so-called Big 6 cities of New York consist of New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Yonkers and Albany. They are classified under the education law as cities over 125,000 population. The Conference of "The Big 6" represents their interests. It was organized in 1967 out of a clear indication that existing organizations such as School Boards Association and the Council of City and Village Superintendents were not directing very much of their effort at helping the Big 6 with their problems. It should be clear from the outset that the Conference speaks only for the boards and the administrations of the schools in these cities. It does not include any representation by the teachers, nor does it speak for the mayors of these cities.

The Executive Secretary has developed working relationships with the existing educators organizations. Any bad feelings between the Conference and School Boards Association have been smoothed over. Exchanges of information with the Teachers Association and the Council of School District Administrators take place rather regularly. The relationship to the Conference Board is, however, the most interesting. The Executive Secretary is invited to sit in as a special guest at every Conference Board session, even though the Conference is not a member organization. He is consulted on the problems of the big cities in relation to Conference Board proposals. In part, this is due to the fact that the Conference tends to have an upstate orientation. But also in part due to the decline of the Public Education Association of New York City. In former times when the PEA was strong it essentially stood in for large city interests in Conference Board deliberations. In addition, the Conference has good relationships with the Conference of Mayors.

The Actors

Exactly where the power lies in educational policy making in the view of the Conference is difficult to state. With only three years of history behind it as a separate organization there is little to discern in the way of trends and preferences. From the information gathered so far, by interview and observation, the following tentative conclusions have been reached.

1) The Office of the Governor. Influencing the Governor's program is a major objective. However, in the case of the large cities, this is best done for education in terms of the total package for the states' urban centers. This is not a role for the Conference itself but rather for the mayors and other city officials.

2) The Legislature. The real power in the Legislature is in the leadership, the Speaker and majority leader in the Assembly and the majority leader in the Senate. It is also essential to reach the chairman of the JLC and the chairman of the Senate Education Committee. This, of course, is one Senator.

3) The Regents and the State Education Department. In the view of the Conference, the Regents are no longer the powerful and prestigious board that they were 20 years ago. While it makes some sense to keep in harmony with Regents proposals for policy change, the view of the Education Department is not much different. If the Commissioner and other top officials of the department can be reached during the time when the Regents proposals are being put together there is some chance that they can affect the Governor's program. This is due to the Conference's belief that the Commissioner is a major advisor to the Governor on matters of education.

The Policy Process

Since its inception the Conference has concentrated on presenting the problems of the cities to the Legislature. The majority of its effort has been directed at data gathering and presentation. Within the situations that have existed in the last two sessions of the Legislature wherein the Governor has left it in the lap of the Legislature to come up with additional funds for education, the Conference has seen its role as one of educating the Legislature to do just that. Thus the emphasis has been to reach the legislative leadership.

The strategy employed has been to supply fact sheets and opinions to leaders through their counsels and to the Ways and Means Committee in Assembly, the Education and Finance Committees in Senate. While the information supplied has been carefully checked with the Education Department data, the Conference has avoided any close association with the positions of the Department. There has also been some coordination with the other education organizations and the Conference Board but again little reliance has been placed upon their help in presenting the case of the Big 6 cities.

The JLC has been a particular target of the Conference during these past three years. Since this committee introduces legislation directly onto the floor and the chairman is a powerful figure in education, the route seems most appropriate. Another factor here is the close working relationship between the JLC on education and the JLC on metropolitan area problems. The two committees work well together and since the metropolitan areas committee believes that education is a good place to begin to wrestle with the problems of urban areas, the Conference is developing the strategy which will involve both JLCs. The only shortcoming in this strategy is the fact that JLCs are still under the control of the legislative leadership. Thus, recommendations coming out of the JLC must still undergo scrutiny by the leaders. Part of the effort in working with leadership, then, is to smooth the way for JLC proposals.

Reaching the individual legislators is not a task undertaken by the Conference. The areas of the state covered by the Conference send 125 legislators to Albany. The route utilized by the Conference in reaching these legislators is to send data and proposals back to each of the cities for the local political figures to use with these representatives.

Problems

The major problem faced by the Conference of Big City School Districts is to overcome the lumping of education needs with total city needs, a tradition in New York State policy making. The needs of the cities have usually been examined as a whole and were rarely broken down into separate packages such as social welfare, public works and education. The governors of New York have usually sent lump sums of funds to the cities in the form of state aid to be distributed as the city administrations see fit. In recent times there have been special urban education aids as well as some other earmarked funds for the schools. Until this development city administrations tended to short the school districts and give the bulk of state aid funds to other city activities.

This is all compounded by a complex political situation in which the governors have dealt with the several mayors in those ways which best serve the governor's continuing political control. Education traditionally has not been an important political vehicle. While there has been some slight shift in its utilization in that way, its leverage has not been sufficient to bring about the redirection of the governor's relationships to city administrations. Until it does the Conference of the Big 6 cities will not have full impact in educational policy making at the state level. Even then, New York City may still operate its own way in educational policy efforts, particularly if the United Federation of Teachers continues to develop as a force.

United Federation of Teachers - AFL/CIO

The interests of New York City educators in state policy-making have been relatively limited. In the past what representation they made with the other educator groups in the state was made through the participation of a progressive reform group, the Public Education Association of New York City, a member of the Educational Conference Board. With the continued decline of the Public Education Association, plus the rise in militancy and membership of the UFT, this situation has changed insofar as the representational aspects are concerned. Since about 1963 it must be said that the UFT represents New York City teachers in state education policy matters.

The Actors

The state policy matters in which New York City teachers are interested are very difficult to identify. By and large home rule in education for New York City means that the UFT's major struggle is with the Board of Education and the city government, especially the Mayor. Yet, the union does have a stake in the amount of aid distributed to the city for education and, more recently, the socio-political issue of city school district decentralization. In the final analysis, however, both of these matters have a relatively strong element of teacher vs. Mayor, rather than UFT confrontation with the Legislature. The actors in the policy process for UFT, then, seem to be approximately the following:

1) The Governor. It is important to reach the Governor in terms of his program for cities, particularly New York. The most effective route is generally to work with the Mayor and the city administration for these purposes rather than attempt to reach the Governor as a separate organization.

2) The Legislature. The UFT tends to view the Legislature as composed of the 94 Senators and Assemblymen from New York City area. Within this delegation there is a concerted effort to neutralize conservatives or others who seem to block UFT aspirations. Once a sizeable majority of the city delegation is convinced on an issue, UFT and the delegation work together to bring the legislative leadership around to the same point of view. UFT believes that once the leadership is convinced of overwhelming support of a proposal by the city delegation, it will act to bring rural and suburban legislators into line.

3) The Regents and the State Education Department. On most issues the Regents are simply another input of the upstate people, the old line education groups. Department officials from the bottom up through the Commissioner, in UFT's view, simply do not understand education in New York City and the socio-political processes which form its context. For the UFT, recommendations of the city board of education carry more weight. These are funneled back to the Mayor and the city administration where the UFT already has a strong pressure point. As for the State Education Department, the UFT does not really see them as part of the policy process.

The Policy Process

The union believes that it is a strong element in policy processes as they pertain to New York City. They have impact with the city administration and can reach the legislative delegation out of New York with their proposals.

In doing so they have the backing of the several labor councils in the City of New York under the AFL/CIO umbrella. At times a number of other school-related organizations can be counted upon to support the UFT position. These include the Public Education Association of New York, the United Parents group, the small National Education Association chapter and even the Conference of Supervision Associations in the city school system. Insofar as the upstate education groups are concerned there is simply no relationship between the UFT and these old line organizations. Thus, in the final analysis, UFT utilizes for the most part the traditional existing mechanisms which the City of New York has always used in presenting its problems to the Governor and the Legislature.

There can be no doubt of the relative strength of the UFT in New York City and matters pertaining to education within that metropolis. Its power has been tested well in a series of disputes with the city government and the board of education. While the UFT has not always gotten all that it wanted, it has never really been defeated in these confrontations. How much further the UFT can extend its influence is difficult to gauge. A coalition of education forces in the City of New York on the style of the Conference Board is a possibility. Alliances with other teacher union locals in the large and small cities across the state for the purpose of redressing the rural-suburban-urban imbalance in educational policy is another possibility. Alliance with NYSTA in some issues is not far-fetched. The coming about of one or the other of these would presage some dramatic shifts in educational policy-making in New York State.

Problems

The United Federation of Teachers faces two problems. The first is public reaction to its strident militancy. Within New York City the height of public indignation over UFT work stoppages in 1961 and 1963, has pretty well dissipated. Recognition of the fact that the union is indeed a union and is going to act like a union when bread and butter issues are at stake has led to the acceptance of the changed conditions under which contract talks between the City and the teachers will be conducted. In addition, the exposure of the deteriorated condition of public education in the City by various groups and agencies has aided the union cause. The UFT has managed to surround its demands with sufficient expression of a desire to improve education in the City, to gather support among a number of civic groups. But this has not allayed suspicions about the union's goals and objectives among people upstate. They still tend to view the union as a very self-seeking power group determined to improve the economic conditions of its members by obtaining more state aid for New York City schools. (Compare this to NYSTA's objectives -- they are the same.) This leads into the second problem faced by the UFT.

Upstate legislators, particularly those from urban areas, have begun to pay more attention to UFT proposals for New York City. In 1969, legislation for the decentralization of New York City Schools was examined carefully by both Republicans and Democrats representing upstate urban constituencies. These legislators believed that the pattern devised for New York City might ultimately be applied to their cities. Rather than accept the word of the Governor or their legislative leaders, they scrutinized the proposals with care. Thus, as the commonality of problems of the cities become more recognized, particularly in the area of education, upstate legislators will be less prone to let New York have its way without understanding the full consequences for their own bailiwicks.

It may be a long while before these two problems really effect UFT behvior. However, the union has already begun to establish liaison with upstate educaton groups with at least a partial purpose of monitoring these kinds of attitudes

Summary

In this section the perceptions of the actors in the process of educational policy-making held by selected educational interest groups and reported by their leaders were described. The groups included the New York State Teachers Association, the New York State School Boards Association, the Council of School District Administrators and the coalition to which these organizations belong, the Educational Conference Board. In addition, the perceptions of two organizations which are not members of the Conference Board, the Conference of Large City Boards of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, were also described.

Although the groups vary in their purposes, there were several commonalities in their views. There appears to be a pattern of perceptions and activities which holds constant across the groups, patterns which on the basis of past experience they feel will maximize their influence in the policy-making process. All of the groups see the Governor's office as the critical access point to the policy-making process for several reasons. First, the Governor as a state-wide elected official is in a position to bring state-wide influence to bear on issues. Second, as the recognized leader of his party he can bring influence to bear on his party's state legislators. Third, the Governor is responsible for developing an executive budget which forecasts the state's programmatic and physical needs and, in turn, establishes the major tasks for legislative action. Thus in the view of the interest groups, his unique position makes the Governor's office a critical access point.

Within the Legislature interest group leaders focus their activities on the legislative leadership. The groups define leadership as the Speaker, the chairmen of the education committees in each house, and the two fiscal committees. It also includes the minority leader in each chamber. A secondary tactic, and one less universal in application, is to influence individual legislators in their home districts through contact activities carried out by the local membership of the group.

Educational interest group leaders report that their most important influencing mechanism is information gathered by their organizations. This is particularly true of the State Teachers Association, the Conference Board and the Big 6 Cities Conference. The assumption behind this mechanism is that they have a unique ability to provide necessary information and thus are able to influence the processing of educational legislation.

Responsibility for carrying on the activities of the interest group appears to reside at both the state and local level. That is, in most instances, there is an office established in Albany with at least one executive staff member responsible for carrying out legislative activity. At the same time, it is expected that local units will apply some pressure to their local legislators in the home district. In addition, the urban-oriented education interest groups attempt to involve local government officials to press legislators and the Governor on educational needs.

Each organization, of course, has its own problems to deal with. These affect or have the potential for affecting its legislative activity both in terms of strategy and strength.

In the next chapter the perceptions of the policy process and actors within the process held by the state education agency executive and legislative staff members will be examined.

CHAPTER III

PERCEPTIONS FROM WITHIN: THE EDUCATIONAL BUREAUCRACY EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE STAFFS

Introduction

What is the view of the educational policy process and the actors within that process from inside of state government? Are there large differences between the way the State Education Department professionals, for example, look at legislative process and the way in which their fellow educators in the several organizations essentially view it? And what of the perceptions of other insiders, the staff people in the Legislature and in the Office of the Governor? Do these people who work day by day almost at the very center of the policy-making maelstrom see the various inputs and processes any differently than those further out toward the perimeters?

The first group to be examined is the state policy board for education, the Regents of the University of the State of New York and its staff, the State Education Department. Following that will be some of the opinions of members of the governor's staff and the counsels to various legislative committees and individual legislators.

The Regents and the State Education Department

The Board of Regents predates the earliest New York State constitution by four years, having been created in 1784. Members are chosen by joint ballot of the Legislature for 15 year terms. There is one Regent for each of the 11 judicial districts in the state, plus four elected at large. In 1969 they were 15 in number. The Board of Regents has independent executive, legislative and judicial authority for education in the state. The unification of the Regents and the Department of

FIGURE 1

Selected Educational Interest Groups: Perceptions of the Policy-Making Process

Educational Interest Groups	Objective	View of the Control Point in the Policy Process	Tactics Employed in Influencing the Legislative Process	Persons Responsible for Influencing Policy Making
New York State Teachers Association	Improved Working Conditions and Welfare of Teachers	Governor - Office and Program	1. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 2. Supply Information (Extensive Research Capacity).	1. Executive Secretary and One or Two Key Staff Members. 2. Letters from Association Members
New York School Boards Association	Relief of Local School Districts from Burden of Excessive Financial Support for Education	Governor - Executive Budget, Division of Budget and Office of Local Government	1. Explain NYSBA Program to Governor and his Counsels. 2. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 3. Talk with Legislators in the Districts.	1. Executive Secretary and One or Two Key Staff Members. 2. Regionally and Locally, School Boards Talk with Legislators.
Council of School District Administrators	Similar to NYSBA With Added Special Concerns for Maintenance of their Positions within the Educational Hierarchy	Governor - Budget and Program	1. CSDA Convention to Set Legislative Plans. 2. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 3. CSDA Advisory Board to Influence Commissioner of Education. 4. Administrators Talk With Legislators in the Districts.	1. President of the Council. 2. Committee on Legislation. 3. Local Administrators Talk with their Legislators.

Educational Interest Groups	Objective	View of the Control Point in the Policy Process	Tactics Employed in Influencing the Legislative Process	Persons Responsible for Influencing Policy Making
Educational Conference Board	Increased State Support for Education: Encompasses Needs Which Cross Over Those of Individual Member Organizations	Governor - Control of the Legislature	1. Studies of Costs of Education and the Fiscal Condition of School Districts. 2. Development of Programs for Legislation. 3. Get Program Adapted by Governor. 4. Capture Commissions Set Up by Governor and Legislature. 5. Various Tactics Developed Due to Diversity of Membership.	Constituent Groups
Conference of Big City School Districts	Unique Fiscal and Programming Needs of the Large Cities	Governor and Mayors and Other City Officials	1. Influence Mayors and City Officials to Contact the Governor. 2. Influence Commissioner of Education to Contact Governor. 3. Data Gathering for Legislative Leadership and Key Committees. 4. Data Gathering for Local Boards and Administrators to Influence Legislators.	Executive Secretary
United Federation of Teachers	Improving Working Conditions and Welfare of Teachers, Especially in New York City	Governor and NYC Mayor and Other City Officials	1. Influence Mayor and City Government of New York City. 2. Influence NYC Area Legislators who Then Contact Upstate Legislature.	1. President of UFT 2. Legislative Representative.

Public Instruction in 1904 made the Board the governing agency for all phases and levels of education in the state. A great molder of public and governmental opinion in the past, in the last two decades the Regents have taken an active role in the formulation of educational policy. For the past several years they have made it a practice to publish their assessment of the needs of education and make recommendations for legislative action.

The Regents staff, the State Education Department, is headed by the Commissioner of Education. He is an appointee of the Regents and serves at their pleasure. He is responsible for the contacts with the Legislature, Governor, the schools, the several education organizations and the public. A number of these functions he delegates to his associates, as well as his immediate staff of executive assistants. The Department itself, composed of more than 800 qualified professionals in several fields, carries out a multiplicity of activities. A major task is advising and recommending policy changes to the Commissioner. In doing so, the Department utilizes its observations, evaluations, studies and research findings.

The Actors

The major actors, besides the Regents and the Department, and their roles in the policy process seem to be viewed by the education professionals in government as follows:

1) The Governor. Education is but one area of concern in the Governor's overall program. Yet his program for education is quite important in the total picture. Governors over the years have been very generous toward education but the executive is not the final power in educational policy making. While the Governor has had a strong hand through his control of the executive budget, the Legislature

must give approval to policy change. Thus, the Governor must move the legislative leadership to his point of view.

2) The Legislature. The legislative leadership is very important in the policy process. The leadership is strong and can be counted on to keep legislators in line within the highly disciplined system of the Legislature. In matters of finance, this particular power comes through since strict party votes are tabulated. The Legislature, as a whole, shows high concern for fiscal matters, especially those pertaining to education since it is such a large proportion of the state budget. Other items of educational policy, such as school district reorganization, teacher employment conditions, bussing programs, are viewed by individual legislators for their impact in the home district rather than in terms of state-wide policy. Besides, the Legislature is not content to simply dispose where the Governor proposes. It has, in the past several years, looked toward a role for itself in proposing policy change.

3) The Education Groups. The several organizations can have a very strong influence on the policy process. The administrators' organization and School Boards Association, with their concerted efforts to reach legislators in their home districts, can profoundly influence the course of legislation. On the other hand, the Teachers Association, with its mass power, always has the potential threat of creating legislative crises which the Department is not prepared to cope with. The coalition of the educational organizations, the Conference Board, has been a very persuasive force on the Governor and the Legislature in the past. Dealing as it does in the highly critical area of educational

finance, the Regents and the Department recognize that the Conference Board must be taken into account in the total policy process.

The Policy Process

The Regents, leaning heavily on the Commissioner and his staff, develop a legislative program each fall. When it is completed it is sent to the Governor and the Legislature and simultaneously released to the various organizations and groups across the state. The requests or proposals for legislation included in the Regents package come from many sources both within the Department and without. These are sifted as to what is good, necessary and appropriate. Programmatic aspects of proposals are reviewed by the various program units and the law division examines proposals to see that they are legally feasible and not already included in existing law. Proposals which survive this scrutiny are sent to the Executive Deputy Commissioner for coordination. At this point tentative priorities are attached and the law division proceeds to draft bills embodying the proposals. The entire package is then sent to the Commissioner and the Regents for their review. What survives this final scrutiny becomes the legislative program for the coming year.

Carrying on the liaison between the Department and the Office of the Governor and the Legislature in bringing this program to fruition has been very carefully assigned to particular people within the Department hierarchy. A deputy commissioner is in overall charge of the legislative program strategies. The Commissioner himself usually meets with the Governor when requested or when the Commissioner feels it might be necessary. These meetings usually revolve around larger policy questions and particularly in the area of finance. The Education Department's legal counsel takes the responsibility for conducting the relationships with the Governor's counsels, particularly in matters of legal concern. There is, of course, a heavy overtone of policy and program considerations. The Department counsel is also available for conversations with committee counsels and legislative committee chairmen. An executive assistant to the Commissioner has the task of working with individual legislators. This particular role has a dual aspect to it. Not only does he undertake to explain to legislators the Regents proposals, but he also meets with them to explain why certain pieces of legislation, perhaps introduced by a legislator, are undesirable in the Department's view. When other opinions are needed, say in special areas such as vocational education, it rests with the Deputy Commissioner to designate the Department person who will conduct the discussion with the interested legislator or legislative committee. Relationships with the leadership in the Legislature, including the committee chairman rests largely with the Deputy Commissioner. He will handle most matters of a routine nature but makes the judgments as to when he should suggest the Commissioner's personal touch.

There are two major factors which make the Regents and State Education Department a force in the legislative policy process. First of all, the Regents are constitutionally empowered to act in the field of education. Once the Legislature has passed a statute it rests with the Regents to draw up the policies and regulations for its administration. Politically, the Governor and the Legislature are generally satisfied with this arrangement as it means that if the Regents want a piece of legislation they must be willing to stand by the consequences of it all the way from the expense of administering it through to the political repercussions it may produce. Thus, as long as there is no funding attached, nor additional appropriation required by the Department, the bill can easily be put through. If by chance there is some threat of major political repercussion from an area of the state or from the education organizations which would affect the Governor, or the legislative leaders, the proposal may be modified by the Legislature before it is passed.

The second major factor is the vast amount of data and information which the Education Department has available. There is simply no other source for many types of information and data about the public schools, their programs and their costs. Neither the Legislature nor the Office of the Governor can duplicate the technical services required to gather this data. The research offices in such organizations as the New York State Teachers Association have the capacity to supply only a fraction of the information. This particular factor has two implications. First, the top echelon of the Department responsible for recommending educational policy has this data at its disposal as a basis from which to begin the development of policy change and gather indications of the direction the change should take. The Governor and the Legislature recognize the high qualifications of the Department in this regard. The second implication is that legislative committees and individual legislators turn to the Department for information. If these committees or individual legislators plan to make proposals they do so essentially from the same basic data on which the Regents and the Governor are operating.

If there is one central thrust to the role of the Regents and the Department in educational policy-making in New York State it is to have its proposals accepted by the Governor as part and parcel of his program for the state. Where he does follow the advice of the educational government he can count on the Department to carry this message to the Legislature and back it with appropriate and necessary factual data. Where the Governor does not incorporate Regents proposals fully into his program he can expect to find opposition in the Legislature insofar as the Department can build consent for the Regents program among legislative leaders and individual legislators. There is sufficient power and prestige with the Board of Regents so they do not hesitate to consider entering a policy struggle with the Governor. They realize, however, that in a showdown, the Governor stands a better chance of winning in the Legislature when he brings his political forces to bear. Thus only when the gravest differences appear between the Regents proposals and the Governor's program is an open battle likely to take place.

The Joint Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the Education Law has not been viewed with trepidation but rather with a quizzical kind of interest. During the first seven years of the Committee's existence it did very little, acting much as any other legislative committee producing a few routine reports and introducing some minor pieces of legislation. In the last two years of its existence, however, since it was charged with review of the state aid formula and by its production of some fairly innovative changes in the education law, it became a new element in the policy process which the Department had to consider. The real question was how to consider it - as a hyperactive legislative committee, or as a new force reflecting the aspirations of the Legislature to carry out an initiatory role in educational policy-making.

Relationships between the Department and the Committee have remained cordial at the policy level as well as at the staff level. The Deputy Commissioner makes it a point to see that the chairman is kept informed on ideas developing within the Department. The staff relationships consist of information exchange and collegial review of each other's findings. The committee staff being relatively small has had to rely a great deal on Department data to complete its tasks. When the staff has drafted a report it will often consult with Department officials to obtain their views on the analysis. Thus far neither the Department nor the JLC has been hurt by the relationship and several observers would say that these contacts have built a greater mutual understanding and respect of each party for the other.

Problems

The problems of the Regents and the Education Department in the policy-making area are several. The first, of course, is the sorting out of the tremendous variety of problems in education and then bringing the ponderous machinery of the educational government to bear on those selected. To some extent the procedures utilized in creating the Regents program are an improvement in this process over earlier efforts within the Department. This has not only strengthened their position with the Governor in terms of influencing his program but it has also increased the respect of the Legislature for the work of the Department. Legislators also tend to see these changes as the gaining of some political savvy on the part of the bureaucrats. It has eliminated special pleadings of various areas of education and permitted the Department to focus on constellations of problems common to a number of areas of the state rather than deal with each problem in several different areas. The result is that more legislators can identify with the need for solutions.

Another major difficulty of the Regents and the Department is that someone is always looking over education's shoulder. Historically in New York State this has taken the form of governor's commissions to examine educational problems. The current version of this, according to some people, is the Joint Legislative Committee to Revise and Simplify the Education Law. A commission on the cost and quality of education in New York State headed by a prominent Western New York attorney and former Assemblyman is beginning another examination of education and its problems. From the experience which the Department has had with the JLC it appears that their apprehensions regarding such outside examinations are not as great as they were in the years past.

The Governor's Staff

To many people in state government, the Governor's staff are his eyes and his ears and, at times, his voice in many matters. Sometimes referred to laconically as "the staffers", they are a somewhat ill-defined group of people who operate in and near the office of the Governor. By titles they range from Secretary to the Governor through counsels and assistant counsels, to appointments secretary and program associates. In the press they are very often referred to as aides to the Governor. Normal bureaucratic job descriptions are inadequate for determining what these men and women do. Only by observation can it be seen that they function as listening posts, conveyors of messages, troubleshooters and caseworkers. Even the areas of their operations are loosely defined. For example, while an assistant counsel may have regular duties with regard to two or three departments such as education, mental hygiene and conservation, he is also responsible for a functional area which may be broadly labled education. Following this functional route will occasionally involve him with other departments. As loosely organized as this may seem to the casual observer, it is obvious on further examination that the Secretary to the Governor coordinates nearly every activity carried out by the staff.

The members of the Governor's staff are by the nature of their tasks keen observers of the policy process. Their vantage point in the Governor's office permits them to survey many aspects of the unfolding scene. Thus, it must be remembered that while they do not speak for they Governor, they are in a good position to speak about the Governor. They do, however, express the viewpoints of the Governor's office which may be a built-in bias.

The Actors

From their point of view in the Governor's office the staff people view the other participants in the policy process as follows:

1) The Legislature. In order to implement his program the Governor must have legislative approval of his budget and, often, new legislation for the implementation of policy change. Elementary and secondary education is but one aspect of his program. Changes in educational policy are rather sensitive issues among legislators for two reasons. First, the major effect of most policy changes in education means additional expenditures of state funds either in the form of state aid, project funding or the costs of administration. Secondly, there is a differential effect in the several areas of the state and by type of district - rural, suburban, city. The Legislature, as a whole, dislikes being tagged as the branch of government which takes and spends. Furthermore, individual legislators dislike going home to explain why the school districts in their bailiwick did not benefit from a state policy as much as districts in the next county. Governor's staff people realize that the leadership in the Legislature, while strong, cannot hold legislators in line in all educational policy matters. Thus, the Governor carefully delineates the policy changes he feels essential for education. State aid and other fiscal considerations are the central focus. Beyond this, policy proposals are left to the Regents.
2) The Regents and State Education Department. The vast powers of the Regents in the area of education have earned for them the sobriquet, "the fourth branch of government". To people in the Governor's staff this is a negative connotation. The relative independence of the Board and its chief of staff, the Commissioner, can provide a source of severe competition for the Governor's program. The tack that the

present Governor seems to take is to let the Regents propose policy changes for education and if something goes awry, let the educational government take the criticism. If, of course, the policy change is a success, the Governor can bask in the reflected light. The basic element to control in the view of the Governor's staff is the financial aspect of Regents proposals. In their view the Regents are always asking for more money than the state can spend in education. Once the Governor has reduced these requests to a sensible figure it seems that he is willing to let the Regents have their way.

3) The Education Interest Groups. In the view of the Governor's staff the role of the education groups in the policy process is to propose what they feel is suitable and necessary for education and then locate the governmental instrumentality which will take the lead in making their proposals policy. In the view of the Governor's staff people, the interest groups have often picked the wrong horse. They tend to concentrate on convincing the Legislature where the power is really very difuse. The groups' real interest is with financing of education and the power to control that aspect rests largely with the Governor. In spite of this fact, the education groups must be contended with. First of all, an active campaign in local areas can seriously erode the Governor's political appeal with both the public and legislators. To simply point out that the Governor's policies will result in greater local taxation for schools is enough. Secondly, by reaching legislators at home and in Albany the education groups can chip away support for the Governor's entire program within the legislative body. Where the Governor's party

holds a slim majority in one or both houses this is the kind of threat which can result in costly political fencemending.

The Policy Process

The Office of the Governor, then, relies upon the Regents to present a legislative program with which the Governor can live. The proposals of the educational government are scrutinized for their fiscal implications and any necessary compromises on that basis are negotiated. Other items in the Regents program, if not politically embarrassing, are left to the Regents to work out with the Legislature.

The key division within the Governor's office is the Division of the Budget. As the several agencies submit their planned expenditures for the coming fiscal year the Governor's staff works closely with the Budget to harmonize these proposals with the Governor's program. Budget hearings are scheduled for each department and modifications are made in light of balancing the overall program and the state's executive budget. Budget officers indicate that the Regents proposed budget generally arrives later than the requests of other state agencies. It generally calls for more money than the Legislature would ever appropriate and finally, it does not contain the necessary data for justification of the requests. In the broadest sense, it reflects a latent attitude of the Regents that they are a fourth branch of government and should propose what is necessary for education, leaving it to the Governor and the Legislature to appropriate the necessary funds.

The Regents proposed budget is, of course, modified by the Division of the Budget in careful negotiations with top Department officials. With the advent of program budgeting in New York State, Budget has been able to develop some measures of what education should be doing and discuss budget modifications in more programmatic than political terms. This does not mean that the political aspects are left out entirely. The present Governor has twice imposed mandatory budget cuts on all agencies and through his staff, particularly the Division of the Budget, made these reductions stick. Announcements from the Governor's office have indicated that such cuts were made for the purpose of meeting his constitutional responsibility of submitting a balanced budget.

After the executive budget is submitted to the Legislature it is sent to the appropriate committees, the Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly and the Finance Committee in the Senate. Here the staffs of these committees, particularly in the Assembly, review the budget and make some counter-recommendations. This is particularly true if one house is controlled by the opposition party. In the past few years the two committees have held joint hearings on the state budget. At this juncture it is interesting to note that at these sessions all agencies except education defend and justify their proposals as modified by the Division of the Budget. The State Education Department, on the other hand, will often present information and arguments as to why their original proposals should not have been modified.

At this point the Governor's office must work to keep a legislative majority from upsetting the budget proposals. Where the Legislature wishes to exceed the budget in total the onus is put on them by the constitution to impose the necessary increased taxes. This element gives the Governor's office some advantage. With education there is some further leeway in that additional costs for education can be forced back onto the local school tax. With the proper manuevering the Governor can make the Legislature responsible for this result too. Given a situation as prevailed in 1969, however, where the Governor made mandatory cuts in state aid, the legislators with the aid of the education groups, were able to make the Governor share the blame for local tax increases.

In the final analysis, however, the Governor's staff people feel satisfied if the Governor's program emerges from the Legislature pretty much in tact. There are definite limits to the Governor's influence. The constitutional separation of powers is a limiting factor which must be respected by both sides. The legislative leaders have their own political bulwarks to rely on in dealing with the Governor. They utilize these powers to retain that measure of independence necessary to continue control of the house. There are also very definite limits to how far the leadership can push the committees and individual legislators. Each house has its own prerogatives for members and the leadership cannot very often break these rules without risk to their positions. This is particularly true in the Senate where the individual Senator has a great deal of latitude which must be respected by other senators.

The Legislative Staff

The legislative staff members have a unique opportunity to observe the policy-making process from several aspects. On the input side nearly all proposals and counter proposals are passed to them for review. The nature of their work is to present their committee chairman or the committee minority with data and comparisons on the substantive issues. Counsels additionally examine questions of law and procedure. As these reviews proceed, the political problems of the Governor and the legislators are observed and the political behaviors of the interest groups may be ascertained. On the output side, the final compromises, which are often drafted by staff members, are passed into the Legislature for debate and voting.

While the New York State Legislature still has a number of part-time patronage positions within the legislative staff, there is a definite trend toward the hiring of expert help. Moreover, there has been a percentage decrease of lawyers in staff positions and an increase in other specializations such as government, economics, education, public administration and systems analysis. The major committees such as Ways and Means in the Assembly and Finance in the Senate, as well as the Assembly Committee Central Staff have fulltime specialists in nearly all positions. Counsels are still lawyers, for the most part, and are employed fulltime. Legislative staff people interviewed consisted of counsels to the majority and minority leadership in each house, as well as committee counsels and committee staff members assigned to a number of committees in both houses. Also interviewed were several central staff members in research and committee central staff positions in the lower house.

The Actors

From their viewpoint within the Legislature itself, legislative staff members tend to view the participants of the policy process as follows:

1) The Governor. The Office of Governor in New York State is a powerful political position. Through his control of patronage he can fairly well keep his own party in line. When necessary, this same tool can be utilized to gain needed concessions from the opposition party. Beyond this the Governor's office can reach into many localities at any time and affect the legislative situation by simply reaching the county leader on whom the legislator from the area depends for political support back home. These instrumentalities are always there but rather sparing use is made of them in the regular course of events. They are more like the iron fist in the velvet glove.

   The velvet glove consists of the initiatory powers of the Governor in presenting his program for action and embodying it in the state budget which is presented to the Legislature for action. At the other end of the legislative process he has the power of the veto even up to and including line items within appropriations. Thus the legislative leadership maintains close contact with the Governor and tests very carefully the limits or modifications of his program which they may feel necessary. Yet, from the viewpoint of staff people there is some relative independence of the Legislature in this process. A sufficient amount of recalcitrance among legislators can politically embarrass the Governor, forcing him to use his potential powers rather openly and nakedly.

2) The Regents and the State Education Department. Legislative staff people believe that the Regents activities do relatively little to help the cause of education policy change. They are too haughty in their independence and are not accountable through the usual political processes. Their tendency to ask for huge sums of money to finance education are unrealistic and, at best, serve to embarrass the Governor. While the Regents, in recent years, have publicly endorsed certain taxes to support their requests, they still do not have to stand the political repercussions of imposing those taxes. In addition, the Regents cannot be trusted to stay content if they do get what they propose in the way of policy change. The Regents always come back the next year and ask for more. This is not politically astute in the view of the staff people. On top of all this, many staff people feel that the Regents as a body is pretty well captured by its bureaucracy - the State Education Department.

The Department is looked upon as an internal lobby for education. In earlier times, according to some staff people, when the Regents were by and large Republican oriented and the Republican party dominated the Legislature with overwhelming majorities, Department officials felt they could simply ask for what they wanted and not be forced to justify it. Special interest lobbying by various Department personnel was an accepted routine. With the closer division of both houses as well as keener competition for state funds Department officials are put to the test and asked to spell out their justification for particular policy changes, particularly in the area of finance. This in turn has resulted in the reduction of internal lobbying where the Commissioner and his immediate staff handle the legislative process for the Department. The reduction of lobbying plus informal briefing sessions for legislators provided by the Department, have aided greatly in reducing friction between the Legislature and the education bureaucracy.

Legislative staff people feel that the Commissioner of Education is a key person in the legislative activities of the Department. He understands the processes as well as the kinds of information legislators want to know. Besides that, he is willing to take the criticism which comes as the result of making controversial policy proposals. In doing so he is not unwilling to stand the repercussions of having to implement such policies in local districts through the Department.

3) The Educational Interest Groups. Staff people feel that the education interest groups have a good deal of power and know how to use it. The teachers organizations can always threaten to march on Albany and in recent times statewide strike action has been contemplated if the Legislature did not perform as expected. School boards association is respected due to the fact that its members are very often political figures in their own right in the home districts. The school administrators organization is relatively an unknown quantity to staff people although a number of them revealed that legislators pay attention when a school administrator from the home district calls. At the same time, however, there is a tendency to look on the educational interest groups as only one source of information and opinion. Their views must be taken into account along with those of taxpayers groups, social welfare groups, civil rights organizations and others. In the area of education the viewpoints expressed by the educational organizations must be examined and compared with those of the Governor's office, particularly the Division of the Budget, and the State Education Department.

The Policy Process

Most generally, the policy process for legislators begins with the Governor's annual message. His outline of the state's problems and what he proposes to do about them provides the basic grist for the legislative mill. Of course, many legislators come to Albany with their own ideas about what has to be accomplished and their own ideas about the conditions in the state. According to legislative staffers, the pulling and tugging between these two elements involves nearly the entire legislative session. Then there is the routine ritual observable to the most casual observer: the filing of bills, assignment to committees, the reporting out of proposed legislation, the debates and the voting in each house and the transmittal of the results to the Governor. The real focus is on obtaining information and advice and the political weighing of alternatives.

On any issue, staff people report, the major need of the Legislature is information on which to base decisions. Sources of information used by legislators are their staffs, the interest groups, the executive departments and, of course, fellow legislators, either individually or through the committees concerned with the issue. The kinds of information sought have to do with not only the substantive matter under discussion but the implications for the legislators' constituents and the state if the policy is adopted or not adopted. It also has to do with the political considerations which adhere around any issue. Much time and effort is spent in gathering these three kinds of information from the various sources.

Committees are important to legislators as steps in the process. Legislators essentially see the committees as mini-legislatures for the examination of particular issues. Their reports are given careful scrutiny for indicators of what may be done. The committees essentially provide some synthesis of a number of viewpoints including those of the executive branch and the interest groups. To some extent they also reflect the position of the leadership, particularly in terms of negative attitudes toward a bill expressed either through the pigeon-holing of the proposal or its shift to another committee.

One of the major points which staff people make is that legislators, by and large,want to hear all viewpoints. This is where interest groups have their biggest opportunity to make inputs through the filing of fact sheets and/or personal meetings with the legislator or members of his staff. This is also the reason why legislators are open to opinions expressed by the staff people and officials in the several government departments. Legislators also receive representations from their home district but generally believe that they understand their constituents well enough to dispense with formal hearings from the home folks. The New York Legislature is a commuting legislature and members are usually at home three or four days of the week.

At some point on each issue the presentation and examination of alternatives is undertaken in earnest. This occurs at or about the time of the party conference on a bill or set of proposals such as the budget, and after most of the evidence is in. Party leaders in the legislature determine whether or not the issue is to be handled as a party bill or if legislators are essentially free to do as they see fit. For the Governor's party people, the Governor's views on the proposal are usually presented by the leaders. According to staff people, party bills for the Republicans in the 1969 Legislature were by and large those which dealt with the major portions of the Governor's program. For the minority Democrats they were bills which had been introduced as counterproposals to the Governor's program.

Finally, there is the debate and voting on bills. Staff people believe that legislators by and large ignore debates on the floor. Every legislator pretty much has his mind made up before this point in the process. Staff people point to the lack of debate and the short roll call form used in the New York State Legislature as proof of the pudding.

Problems

There are a number of considerations and constraints which have to be reckoned with before and during the wrestling over substantive matters. These include maintaining an image of fiscal responsibility as well as an image of progress, handling the upstate-downstate geographic split and recognizing the essential differences between the two houses of the Legislature. To a legislator, these are part and parcel of the policy process.

All legislators feel the need to go home with a progressive record of legislative accomplishment behind them and yet not have to explain to their constituents why taxes were increased. To maintain a record of progress they are often forced to follow the Governor's programmatic lead. Yet, if this progress requires increased taxation legislators feel that they must find ways to eliminate or reduce the impact of new levies. For those legislators who are of the same party as the Governor it is difficult to escape, as the leadership enforces party discipline in such matters. Those in the opposition party of course, when they are in the minority, can vote no, go home and make their votes into political gain. When the opposition is in the majority, however, it is not so easy in all instances. The Governor may, through his powers of patronage and veto, move the opposition leadership to bring their people in line. This particular bit of pulling and hauling may go on through an entire legislative session from January to April when the budget is finally passed.

The upstate-downstate geographic split is a major problem. This split is generally considered an urban-rural split as well as geographic. In essence, however, it swings around the problem of the effects of legislation on New York City and its suburbs versus the effects in upstate constituencies. Certain aids, for example, granted to upstate cities to help solve their problems may be also very useful to the City of New York. However, if applied to that metropolis in the same proportions, the aid to New York could bankrupt the state. In the reverse, specific home rule powers granted to New York City to empower it to solve some of its own problems could not be applied to upstate cities without vast political repercussions from their surrounding communities. In the past the result has been often two sets of legislation on the same problem - one solution for New York City and one solution for upstate.

The final problem, recognizing the essential difference between the two houses of the Legislature, is to simply say that the Senate is different from the Assembly. The Senate is a "club" run on the basis of mutual respect from each member for each other member. This leads to some dilution, perhaps, of the control by the leadership in that house. For example, the majority leader in the Senate would think long and hard before he would point blank tell a committee chairman to bottle up a bill. This is not true in the Assembly where the Speaker, by tradition, has no qualms about telling committee chairmen how he would like things handled. The upshot of these differences is, of course, the manner in which legislation is processed , which has implications for cooperation between the two houses on a single proposal or a set of proposals.

Summary

The legislative process, as seen by observers within government, seems to contain the following elements: first, the Governor's program is still a key item to be considered within the process. However, it is less key than it was for the educational interest groups. In the case of the State Education Department, this reduced emphasis results from the fact that Regents and the Department have a relative degree of independence from the Governor's office. That is, a relatively greater degree of independence than other executive agencies. The independence of the Legislature arises out of the fact that it has a number of considerations to make when examining proposed policies. The Governor's program, then, becomes one element in the inputs to the process, but it is an important element.

The Regents and the State Education Department utilize the development of a sound legislative program and the reduction of lobbying by special interests within the education field to aid them in their approach to the policy process. The information gathering capacity of the department is put to use to convince policymakers of the need for new or changed policies. The Commissioner of Education is, of course, the major link between the Legislature and the Department.

For the Governor's office, obtaining needed pieces of legislation leans more heavily on political process of influencing legislative decision making. Convincing the leadership of the need for the program and aiding the leadership to keep at least the legislators of the Governor's party in line, are essential elements. The appeal is made at the level of what the state needs but the tactics really have to do with the wielding of influence at the legislators' political base.

The educational interest groups merit consideration in several ways but not necessarily the ways in which the interest groups see themselves. First, there is always the concern for the mass groups, such as the Teachers Association, as blocs of people who can influence others and as a potential voting bloc. Groups such as the School Boards Association are seen more in the terms of the influence they have politically at the local level. These are considerations with which the legislators seem to wrestle.

Finally, there is the consideration of the general public which concerns all three groups, according to these inside observers. There is no systematic way, it seems, to tap public opinion but it is there and manifests itself at various times in the legislative process. It is an audience which everyone must watch for its potential to become a highly participant force in any given issue within the policy process.

Having viewed legislative process from the outside and gathered views of a number of knowledgeable observers, the report now turns to the target group itself, the Legislature.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEGISLATIVE SURVEY: 1969 NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE

Introduction

After completing the series of in-depth interviews with key persons from interest groups and the State Education Department, legislative leaders and their staff personnel and selected executive agency staff members, a survey was developed to explore perceptions of members of the 1969 New York State Legislature. The instrument (see Appendix A) constructed for this purpose is a modified version of a survey developed by Wahlke, et al., 1962. Wahlke tested his survey instrument in the 1957 sessions of the California, New Jersey, Ohio and Tennessee State Legislatures.

After analyzing and modifying the Wahlke instrument, several questions were omitted and others were re-stated, while some new questions were specifically constructed for the present study. The instrument was pre-tested on former New York State legislators who had retired or been defeated within the last year. Twelve former legislators from Buffalo, Rochester and other western New York areas cooperated in the pre-test. As a result of the pre-test, the instrument was restructured: 1) questions which resulted in repetitive information were omitted; 2) questions which were not clearly understood by respondents were modified; and 3) new items were added to assure that required information would be included in the legislators' responses.

Interviewers were enlisted from the ranks of graduate students of political science and educational administration from the State University of New York centers at Buffalo and Albany. Students who proved satisfactory to the project director were given extensive pre-survey training concerning interviewing techniques and the purposes of the survey. Interviewers and the project director jointly analyzed the results of the initial surveys. Further interviewing modifications were added as feedback information dictated.

The interviewers were able to gain access to 117 (90 Assemblymen and 27 Senators) of the New York State Legislature's 207 (150 Assemblymen and 57 Senators) total legislative body. This represents a 57 per cent response (60% of all Assemblymen and 47% of all Senators). Interviews, which took from one to three hours to complete, were carried out between the months of February and June, 1969. Most interviews (88%) took place while the 1969 Legislature was still in session (see Table 1, Appendix B).*

The responses to the open-ended interview schedule were coded, key punched and programmed at the State University of New York at Buffalo Computer Center. The tabulated data were then organized for analysis by the major investigators during the 1969-70 academic year. The data are reported below under the headings Demographic Information; Critical Issues Before the 1969 Legislative Session; Behavioral Norms; Legislative Roles; Processing Legislation; Availability of Information; Legislators and Their Constituents; Interest Groups; and Sources of Influence on Legislators' Views of Educational Legislation.

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*All tables which report data from the survey can be found in Appendix B. The reader should refer to these tables for detail beyond the above summary of the results of the survey. Percentages in the tables have been rounded off to the nearest full percentage point for ease of reading.

Demographic Information

It is first necessary to characterize the backgrounds of those who responded to the survey and to describe the districts which they represent to place the perceptions of legislators in a meaningful setting. The data which are summarized below can be found in detailed tabular format in Appendix B.

The Respondents: Who Were They

Of the 90 Assemblymen and 27 Senators who responded to the survey instrument, 48 per cent were Republican endorsed and 51 per cent were Democrat endorsed (Table 12).* Twenty-one per cent had never served previous to the 1963 legislative session, while 68 per cent had served for three or more years (Table 15). Thirty-four per cent of the Assemblymen had not served previously in that chamber (Table 14) while 19 per cent of the Senators had no previous Senate experience (Table 13).

More than 50 per cent of the legislators were born in New York City; approximately 35 per cent were born elsewhere in the state, and 15 per cent were born outside of the state (Table 2). Three-quarters of the respondents grew up in a city environment, while only a few grew up in a rural setting (Table 5). This reflects the rapid pace of urbanization in the state and the effects of the Baker v. Carr case, which required mapping of legislative districts to more accurately reflect population patterns in the states.

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*The remaining 1 per cent (one legislator) ran as an independent candidate.

Most respondents ranged in age from 35 to 54 (Table 4), with a few being beyond either end of this age scale. Respondents were almost totally (92%) male caucasians. Only 6 per cent were male negroes and but 1 per cent was female caucasian (Table 5). This is a close approximation to the total legislature's racial and sex composition. Similarly, most all respondents were married and had children. Only 5 per cent had never been married (Table 6). The implications for education are great. With such a high percentage of respondents in their middle years and with school-age children, concern for state support of education might be expected to be high.

The educational attainment of responding legislators proved to be extensive. More than 80 per cent had completed at least a bachelor's degree, while 68 per cent had gone on to advanced graduate work (Table 7). Equally as important, over 80 per cent had received a portion of their education in private secular and non-secular institutions. New York State has a long and proud history of a thriving private educational sector at all levels; elementary, secondary and higher education. In fact, New York recently became one of the first states to recognize the contribution of the private educational sector by approving an aid-to-private higher education act, now in its second year of existence.

Paralleling the relatively high educational attainment of the respondents, is their high occupational status (Table 8). Three-quarters of the respondents are classified as professionals in their career patterns. In fact, 57 per cent are lawyers, a valuable background for the highly complex legislative process which exists in Albany. Interestingly, only 3 per cent are classified as agricultural in occupation.

Responding legislators indicated a deep commitment to, and involvement in, the districts which they represent. More than 95 per cent of these legislators have resided in their districts for more than five years. Most have lived in their districts for more than ten years (Table 18). Equally important, 74 per cent of all legislators interviewed own property in the district they represent (Table 24).

Characterization of Districts by Responding Legislators

The legislators represent a wide variety of districts, according to the way in which they characterize their districts. Whereas the legislators themselves mostly own property in the district, they felt that less than half of their constituents are home owners, and more than one-third are renters (Table 20). Family incomes, according to the legislators, mostly aggregate between $7,000 and $15,000. Twenty per cent fall below that level and only 2 per cent are above it (Table 21). This is a noticeably flat income distribution, characterizing a significant middle-class constituency throughout the state.

As to occupations of wage-earners, legislators gave a mixed picture. More than 60 per cent felt that their constituents include at least two or more occupational types (i.e., blue collar, professional, laborer and white collar) (Table 19). Only a small percentage of legislators were able to characterize their constituents as belonging to a single occupational type. This has relevance for the legislative behavior of the respondents. Those who perceive their constituents as being highly varied in occupations might feel conflict in backing a measure which might be favored by one of their constituent groups but disfavored by another.

More than three-quarters of responding legislators saw their districts as urban or suburban, or a combination of the two. Only 10 per cent characterized their districts as rural (Table 23). Economically, only a handful saw their districts as industrial or commercial in nature, while almost half felt their districts were residential (Table 22).

The Road to the Legislature

Fifty-seven of the 117 respondents had held a local public office before becoming a state legislator (Table 10). Of this group, 63 per cent had served in some sort of an executive officer role. Only 4 per cent had served on school boards. Less than half as many of those who had previous local public office experience had held state or federal office. Of the 22 who had this experience, 55 per cent were state appointed and 27 per cent were federally appointed (Table 11).

Far above any other factor, legislators became interested in politics and a political career because of personal interests and/or family background (68%) (Table 16). Eighty-two per cent of responding legislators became interested in running for the state legislature as a result of prior political activities and a continuing personal interest (Table 17). The only other factor which ranks as important was the request to run for office by a political party (34%).

Legislative Interests

Once legislators are elected to the Legislature, they must decide on substantive areas of interest to focus upon. In the case of those who responded to the survey instrument, these interests are many and varied (Table 48). Most important is the fact that more legislators saw education as one of their particular areas of legislative expertise more than any other single substantive area. In fact the closest substantive area, local government, was selected by only 14 legislators, whereas education was selected by 38 legislators. Of those who felt that they were particularly knowledgeable about education, 23 per cent felt they knew most about state aid and 20 per cent pointed to programs for the disadvantaged as their most knowledgeable area (Table 49).

Critical Issues Before the 1969 Legislative Session

Responses to a survey of state legislators are highly contingent upon the major issues confronting the legislature during a particular year. Of the many issues before the 1969 New York State Legislature, several were of particular concern to the responding legislators. In order of importance these were budgetary considerations (76%); decentralization of school districts (56%); public employee matters - state collective negotiations bills (23%); state aid for education (13%); and abortion (10%) (Table 65). Except for the last item, all of those listed above relate directly to education. Aid to education comes almost equally from state and local sources, so budgetary consideration is affected greatly by educational issues.* Decentralization refers specifically to the New York City situation, where local citizens' groups have demanded that the largest single school district in the nation be reorganized to afford communities more control over educational decision making. The New York collective negotiations act (The Taylor Law) was passed only several years ago (1967) and remains a major issue, at both the local and state governmental levels. Within the legislative area of education, respondents felt that budgetary problems (88%) and decentralization were far and above the most important educational issues before the legislative session (Table 73).

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*The New York State Legislature is a fertile grounds for legislative surveys of educational policy-making issues because of the high level of state aid for education which the legislature has accepted as a state responsibility. The 1969 legislative session presented additional opportunities for the present study. New York City's decentralization problems and the state's collective negotiations act both made for educational issues of the first order. Finally, the state legislature had recently approved a major increase in the state's contribution for per-pupil expenditures (from $680 in 1967 to $726 in 1968). Nevertheless, the educational community continued to press for additional funds in 1969, the same year that the governor felt it necessary to request budgetary cuts to maintain fiscal responsibility. The stage was therefore set for wide debate over educational issues.

Legislators perceived that conflicts within the Legislature center around a few major factors. Most often mentioned was the divergent views of representatives from New York City and upstate New York (72%). Other important factors were the political disputes between the Republicans and the Democrats (67%), the conflicting needs of the cities, suburbs and rural areas (59%), and the opposing positions of liberal and conservative legislators (51%) (Table 71). There were similar conflicts of opinion concerning education (Table 72), the only difference being that the cities, suburbs and rural areas issue ranked above that of Republicans vs. Democrats. This might have been expected. State aid formulas tend to favor one or the other of these population centers, regardless of the political endorsement of the district representatives.

The different needs of New York City and the rest of the state appears to be uppermost in the minds of legislators, particularly in the area of education. Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents felt that these differences affect the way the legislature acts on education matters (Table 104). Of this total, 31 per cent felt that the major problem is a lack of common understanding of problems between New York City representatives and upstate representatives. Others felt that New York City has more money needs (27%), is more complex (21%), has special educational needs (20%) and has a unique population (15%) (Table 105).

Behavioral Norms

The ways in which the Legislature goes about its task of making policy relate directly to behavioral norms which develop over time. Legislators operate within a set of real and imaginary constraints which significantly affects how they interact with their fellow legislators. Wahlke calls this phenomenon the "rules of the game."

Combining the diverse responses given by legislators, the investigators developed 16 categories of "rules" which seem to affect the behavior of legislators. The three which were responded to most frequently - respect others' rights (28%); don't deal in personalities (27%); and common courtesy (21%) - are interrelated human relations variables (Table 30). Interestingly, these are factors which are important in organizations of many different natures. That is, they are not unique to the character of the state legislatures. They are equally relevant in public service organizations, business organizations and voluntary, informal groups.

Probed a second time about the "rules of the game," legislators still ranked avoidance of dealing in personalities as most important (28%), but added performance of obligations (21%); ability and intelligence (19%); self-restraint in debate (17%); and self-restraint regarding goals (17%) as vital factors (Table 31). Surprisingly, seniority and consideration of the party's position ranked relatively low as important "rules of the game."

Another behavioral constraint is the discipline within the party's ranks. Only 38 per cent of the respondents agreed that there was tight party discipline, while an additional 16 per cent felt there might be tight party discipline, depending upon the issue at hand (Table 56). Of those who felt that party discipline was tight, 45 per cent felt that this discipline was maintained because of the power of the leaders (i.e., internal patronage, rewards, punishments and committee assignments). Thirty-two per cent felt that the basis of discipline rested on the common interests of party members (Table 57). Those who said that party discipline was not tight, felt this was so because neither the party nor the leaders was able to impose such discipline (33%), legislators tend to vote their own conscience (30%)

and the leadership style in the legislature is sufficiently flexible (22%) so that discipline is not that important (Table 58). Interestingly, Senators were more in agreement with the last statement (33%) than were Assemblymen (19%). This corresponds with the view of legislative analysts in New York that the Senate is a "club-like" atmosphere, whereas the Assembly, probably because it is so much larger, must be more tightly controlled.

Legislative Roles

The Leaders

There are many actors in legislative bodies. Included are the recognized leaders (e.g., presiding officers and committee chairmen); formal party leaders (e.g., majority and minority leaders); substantive area experts; and the many legislators who constitute the rank and file of Assembly and Senate membership. The views of legislators towards the leadership group, in particular the recognized leaders and the formal party leaders, significantly affects the way the policy process operates.

In the New York State Legislature the recognized leader of the chamber and the party leader come together in the same man. The Speaker is elected in caucus by the major party group in the Assembly. The Majority Leader is similarly elected by the rank and file of the major party group in the Senate. During the 1969 legislative session both the Speaker and the Majority Leader were selected by the Republican party. However, whereas there was a clear Republican majority in the Senate (33 Republicans vs. 24 Democrats), in the Assembly the Republicans have only an eight vote margin. An additional problem for the Assembly Republican group is that several of its members are only nominally party members and cannot always be counted on in crucial votes. Thus the Speaker has had to seek Democrat votes at various times during the legislative session.

Perhaps as a result of this and also because of the fact that the Assembly is a larger legislative chamber, Assemblymen tend to see the role of the Speaker differently than Senators see the role of the Majority Leader (Table 32). Assemblymen felt that the Speaker "runs the show" (63%) about twice as often as did Senators concerning the Majority Leader. Similarly, Assemblymen more than Senators felt that their chamber's leader controlled committees (34% to 15%) and the fate of legislative bills (34% to 22%). On the other hand Senators felt that the Majority Leader was the party's spokesman (59%) more than Assemblymen felt that the Speaker was the party's spokesman (33%). Interestingly, neither chamber felt that its official leader played a significant role in overseeing the Governor's program.

In both chambers the party out of power elects a Minority Leader whose function is comparable for his party to that of the Speaker or the Majority Leader. Legislators felt that his role is to represent the opposition (38%), express party views (21%), and in other ways, do for his party, what the Speaker and Majority Leader do for their party (32%) (Table 34).

Legislators stated that there was sufficient cooperation between the majority and minority party leaders (Table 36). As might be expected, more Senators (56%) felt this cooperation was extensive in their chamber than did Assemblymen (35%) in their chamber. Both Senators and Assemblymen seemed to believe that majority and minority party leaders would cooperate extensively when it was clear that votes would be needed to gain successful passage of a bill (Table 37).

Many legislators felt that the way the leaders went about performing their tasks was basically correct and that they should continue in the same manner in the future (Table 35). There were some who had suggestions for role modification, but these suggestions were scattered. There was no centrally perceived disfunctionality of leadership activities.

Looking at the leadership's activities concerning educational legislation, the majority of respondents indicated that this substantive area received much the same type of treatment as did any other substantive area (Table 38). However, one-third felt that there was more cooperation between the Speaker/Majority Leader and the Minority Leader in educational matters and 23 per cent felt that the leaders' activities differed when dealing with educational issues (Table 40). Of those who felt there were differences in the way the leadership processed educational matters, most felt that this was true because education is too vital to the state to be dealt with in a highly partisan manner (Table 41). These legislators felt that because education, in the final analysis, affects everyone in the state, the leaders must look at educational issues differently (Table 45).

The Committees

The core of the legislative process lies within the committee system. It is to the committees that individual legislators must bring their proposed legislation for study, review and approval before it may reach debate and voting on the chamber's floor. The committee chairman (who is selected by the majority party and its leaders) plays a crucial role in the committee structure (Table 42). Legislators felt (40%) that he is able to foster or hinder the flow of a bill through the committee. In fact, 24 per cent of the responding legislators used stronger language; referring to the chairman as having "life or death power" over the destiny of a bill. However, the chairman's position is often challenged by the activities of the chamber's leadership. In fact, 26 per cent of the respondents felt that the party leaders control the committees (Table 44). As might be expected, Senators, with their "club-like" atmosphere, were less prone to feel that the leadership in their chamber so dominated the committees.

Similarly, more Senators than Assemblymen felt that the committee system was working adequately and that the chairman's role should continue as it was then constituted (Table 43). Legislators had many suggestions for improving the chairmen's role performance (e.g., have more substantive expertise, hold hearings, work the year-round and have more staff), but there was no clustered feeling for a particular kind of change in role activity for the chairmen.

The New York State Legislature has developed, over the past several years, a system to bridge the communication gap between its two chambers. Specifically, it has devised Joint Legislative Committees (JLCs) which transcends the individual chambers. These committees vary in activity, prestige and power. Legislators do believe that they are important in the action stages, where legislation is initiated and introduced (60%), but they also felt that these committees play important roles in studying policy areas and holding hearings to gain broad inputs into the policy-making process (Table 45). Interestingly, the Joint Legislative Committee for the Simplification and Recodification of the Education Law, a JLC held in the highest esteem by the leadership in the legislature, did not appear critically different to the majority of the legislators (Table 46). In fact, 56 per cent of all legislators responded that there was no difference between this JLC and other JLCs. Of those who felt there was a difference, most saw that difference as being in better quality of staff and legislative leadership and more highly technical and involved roles that that JLC has to play (Table 46).

The Governor

The Governor, as both recognized leader of his party and the chief executive officer of the state, can be a significant, although outside, role player in the legislative process. At the beginning of each legislative session, he addresses a joint-session of the legislature, presenting his executive budget and noting the policy areas he feels are most important for legislative consideration. He also retains the veto so that it is incumbent upon the legislature to stay attuned to his views as it goes about the process of passing legislation.

These facts seem to have been internalized by responding legislators. However, a large minority (41%) of this group felt that they give the Governor's position little or no attention when voting on bills (Table 69). Forty-two per cent felt that their consideration of the Governor's position depended on the particulars of the specific situation. Legislators credited the Governor's influence base to his veto power (44%); his relationship with the party leadership in the legislature (36%); and to his use of the patronage he has at his disposal (32%) (Table 70).

Processing Legislation

Moving a desired policy change from idea stage to law is a long and complex process. Much of this occurs long before a formalized measure is introduced in the legislature (e.g., dissatisfaction stages, crystalization of opinion stages, formulation of alternatives to present policies stages, and an extensive debate stage). The Legislature formally becomes involved late in the process, once ideas have been outlined and support has been developed.* At this point, the Legislature becomes the focal point for translating proposals into state policy. How legislators perceive the process at this latter stage is important for the way the Legislature treats the many bills (up to 15,000 in a single legislative session) which are introduced annually into the legislative hopper.

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*It is, of course, probable that many legislators become active in adea formulation and debate long before issues reach the legislature. However, as a formal and total body, the state legislature does not involve itself until the latter stages of this policy-making process.

As noted earlier, the committee system is at the center of the legislative process. Many responding legislators (63%) recognized this fact when they noted that legislation is most expeditiously moved when interested legislator contacts appropriate committee chairmen and/or other members of that committee (Table 51). Surprisingly few (14%) saw the necessity of speaking with the leadership to assure the success of a measure. Respondents also felt (74%) the same process that works in moving legislation in their own chamber, would work in moving the necessary companion legislation in the other chamber (Table 52). One-fourth of the respondents noted that it would be important to get a good co-sponsor in the other chamber.

In the process of introducing measures or in deciding how to vote on measures introduced by others, legislators often find it useful to contact other legislators (Table 55). Most seek out legislators who have good judgment and general knowledge (43%) or seniority and expertise (23%). Interestingly, only 21 per cent said they seek out legislators who have similar backgrounds, similar constituencies or similar interests. Apparently general "know-how" is more important than other factors when a legislator decides how he will vote.

Most legislators acknowledged that they consider the views of their party leaders before they vote on a bill, but a majority (54%) tempered this consideration by saying that whether they do depends upon other factors as well (Table 59). Contrary to expectations, only 32 per cent of the respondents noted that a critical factor in considering the party leaders' position is whether a bill is a party measure (Table 60). Reciprocity was important to legislators who consider their party leaders' position before voting on a bill (Table 61). As a result of considering the leaders' position, 41 per cent felt they would get support for their own bills; 25 per cent thought that they would have a better chance of promotion within the legislative system; and 19 per cent thought they would have increased patronage and staffing privileges granted to them.

A majority of the respondents felt that there are definitely times when a legislator should not vote with his party (Table 62). In particular, he should be free to vote the dictates of his conscience (55%) and give preference to his district's needs over those of his party (59%).

Most respondents (78%) believed that educational legislation is treated the same way as is any other substantive legislation (Table 63). There was little variation on this issue by legislative chamber. Of those who felt there is a difference, 39 per cent attributed this to the belief that education is non-partisan (Table 64).

There are noticeable differences in the way various subgroups in the legislature view education, according to the respondents. From a party stand, the Democrats are viewed as advocates of increasing state financing, with (32%) or without (36%) tax increases (Table 78), while the Republicans are viewed as economizers (20%) who wish to restrain the state's role in educational financing (Table 79). Only 12 per cent of the legislators believed that there is no basic difference in the ways in which the parties view education.

Regrouping legislators according to urban, suburban and rural representation, a predictable pattern emerges. Urban members are viewed as desiring more state financing (58%); suburban members as seeking more state financing, but not to the extent which urban members do (30%); and rural members as seeking a lower level of state financing (25%) (see Tables 80, 81 and 82). As might be expected, each group is perceived as desiring more aid for its own geographical area.

Availability of Information*

No single legislator can be an expert in more than a handful of substantive areas. Consequently, it becomes important that sufficient information be made available if legislators are to understand measures upon which they are supposed to vote. There are many sources to which the legislator can turn for information concerning proposed legislation. These sources exist both within and outside of the legislature.

A majority (61%) of the respondents believed that there are presently sufficient information sources available to legislators (Table 97). Most often cited as sources for information were the centralized legislative research agencies (i.e., the Legislative Research Office, the Bill Drafting Service and ERS) (74%). Far second were the interest groups and lobbyists (24%). This is particularly relevant in education, for the Conference Board and its member organizations feel that one of their chief influencing weapons is their ability to gather, analyze and present useful information to legislators.

When normal channels of information flow are inadequate, legislators have recourse to other sources (Table 54). Most often they seek out the sponsor of a measure (24%); listen to debate (21%); and talk to friends in the legislature (24%). Respondents felt that the most useful thing that can be done to alleviate the present inadequacies in information availability would be to provide more staff for legislators (43%) (Table 98). They did not feel strongly that these staff specialists must be assigned to individual legislators. In fact, there was some desire to maintain a pool of available staff members on call, as legislators found the need for information collection.

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*Appendix consists of an in-depth analysis of information sources in the 1969 New York State Legislature, with a particular emphasis on education and the role of educational interest groups. This paper was first presented at the 1970 Annual American Educational Research Association Conference, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March, 1970.

Legislators and their Constituents

Thus far the focus has been on the relationships legislators build up within the legislative system (i.e., with the leaders, experts, staff and their peers) and with the executive branch. At least as important as these relationships are those which legislators maintain with constituents. In the final analysis it is this relationship which determines whether legislators will be re-elected or recalled from the legislature. The responding legislators saw this very clearly. Almost 70 per cent felt that one of the most important things a legislator should do is to represent the people in his district (Table 29). On the other hand, as few as 28 per cent noted the necessity to consider state-wide interests and only 20 per cent thought they should act on their own best judgment.

Even though they felt that their major chore is to represent the people back home, most respondents also felt that their constituents do not see the job of the legislator in an appropriate perspective (65%) (Table 27). More Senators than Assemblymen felt that such a disparity exists (78% to 62%). In most instances, legislators referred to a "Naivette" on the part of their constituents. They felt that people are not aware of the full scope of a legislator's job (51%); do not see the complexity and diversity of issues to which legislators must address themselves (35%); and do not have an adequate perspective of state-wide needs (36%) (Table 28).

Most all respondents (94%) agreed that they consider the attitudes of their constituents before they vote on a measure (Table 25). However, when probed further, many of these legislators limited the extent to which they would consider their constituents' attitudes (Table 26). Most interesting, 54 per cent of those who commented on this topic felt that if their conscience dictated otherwise, they would vote against the will of the majority in their district. Others felt that if it was not a local issue, they would feel free to vote as they wished (27%).

Many legislators (87%) are directly contacted by their constituents regarding educational issues (Table 83). One of the most frequent causes for such communication is to discuss state aid for education. In most instances, legislators' constituents express the view that state aid for education should be increased (68%). Only 6 per cent felt that state aid should be decreased. At least in this instance it appears that the constituents are more willing to increase state aid than are the legislators. It should be remembered that New York is presently number one in the amount of aid granted per school age child. Therefore, the response of legislators concerning their constituents' attitudes on state aid for education should encourage those who feel that the states will have to become the central funding source for public education. Interestingly, legislators did not believe that their constituents expect that the federal government is the primary source of furthering financing for public education (only 6% responded affirmatively) (Table 85).

Interest Groups

Surrounding the activities of any state legislature are a number of interest groups. Representatives of these groups attempt to influence legislators in directions which favor their own membership's needs. The composition of these interest groups vary highly. They represent groups with diverse needs, diverse membership sizes, and different influence potentials. Legislators spend much of their time in conversations with representatives of these groups and must eventually decide how seriously to take their views into consideration when voting on legislation. More than 80 per cent of the legislators interviewed indicated that they give consideration to interest groups before voting on a bill (Table 67).

According to respondents, the three most powerful interest groups in New York State are labor (79%), education (54%) and banking, finance and insurance interests (32%) (Table 66). Labor is a potent force if for no other reason, because it has an extensive membership that could be assembled to vote for or against a legislator who pleases or displeases this group. Sixty-two per cent of all legislators felt that the size (or voting strength) of a group is its most important basis of power (Table 68). Money (29%), effective propaganda (25%) and good organization (20%) trailed far behind the membership size criteria. Educational interest group representatives can also use their large constituency size to good effect. This has not been tested extensively in New York, but legislators appear cognizant of the potential of such a voting block.

Within the substantive area of education, legislators felt that the most powerful interest groups are the United Federation of Teachers (54%); the New York State School Boards Association (26%); and the New York State Teachers Association (23%) (Table 99). This is somewhat unexpected because the State Teachers Association maintains a complete contingency in Albany, while the United Federation of Teachers focuses its energy more at the local level, particularly in New York City. One explanation may be that the United Federation of Teachers had just gone through several major strikes in New York City and was clearly a concern in the state legislature. Another unexpectedly low visibility group was the Educational Conference Board (5%) which acts as a critical clearinghouse for so many major educational interest groups in the state.

Underlying the power of these groups, according to the respondents, are their voting strength (58%) and their knowledge/expertise/status bases (45%). The vast majority of the legislators stated that they do give some consideration (98%) to the educational interest groups before they vote on educational measures (Table 101). Many of these, however, noted that they consider many other factors in weighing the position of the educational interest groups.

Legislators recognize the fact that other interest groups become involved in educational lobbying when one or more of their concerns is at stake (Table 102). Groups most frequently becoming so involved are labor (23%); P.T.A.s (15%); the League of Women Voters (12%); the Council of Churches (11%); and the Citizens Expenditure Survey (11%). There does not appear to be any general kind of statement one could make concerning the position these groups are likely to take on educational issues (Table 103). Legislators were split on this issue: 43 per cent felt such groups generally favor positions of educational interest groups; 33 per cent felt that their position is developed according to the issue at hand; and 24 per cent felt that they are most often opposed to the position of the educational interest groups.

Sources of Influence on Legislators' Views of Educational Legislation

Legislators are subject to much pressure from individuals and groups, both within and outside of the state Legislature. Within the Legislature there are legislative colleagues, committee chairmen and party leaders. Outside of the legislature there are executive agency personnel, interest group representatives and various sub-groups within the legislators' constituency. How these groups mix to influence legislators as they vote on educational issues was probed in the survey.

According to responding legislators, in rank order, the following groups are very important in influencing their views about educational legislation: experts in the legislature (55%); the people in their districts (48%); the education committees (39%); educators back home (34%); educational interest groups (25%); legislative staff opinions (24%); committees other than education (14%); executive department agencies (8%); and the advice of party leaders (6%) (see Tables 86-94). The relatively low ranking of the educational interest groups and the almost complete lack of influence of the executive agencies and the party leaders are unexpected outcomes. Those responding appear most concerned with the way legislators who are experts in the area of education feel and in the views of groups back home. These are two distinct reference groups - one is sought because of its knowledge base, the other because of its voting power. One group that crosses over both are the educators back home who have a knowledge base and also can be very influential in supporting or not supporting legislators' continued candidacies for the state Legislature.

Of those who ranked the executive agencies as either important or very important (72 legislators), 82 per cent isolated the Regents and the New York State Education Department as being most important (Table 95). The Division of the Budget ranked a poor second (15%). Of those who ranked committees other than the education committee as important or very important (54 legislators), 44 per cent felt the Joint Legislative Committee on Education was the most important committee concerning educational matters (Table 96).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The major purpose of the research was to analyze the process of educational policy-making in New York State. The focus was upon the role of the formal governmental structure and, in particular, on the role of the state legislature. How that role was perceived by legislators and by interest group officials set the parameters and methodological procedures for the study.

The policy-making process was conceived of as a system in which individuals, groups and organizations compete for the allocation of scarce resources. For purposes of the study, individuals, groups and organizations were thought of as involved in the policy-making system when their actions are directly related to the process of educational decision making at the state level. For example, educational administrators become part of the system when their activities are focused on affecting educational policy-making at the state level. Taxpayers' associations become part of the system when they are involved in influencing the formal government on school related matters. The state legislature and the governor's office are components of the system when their activities have implications for the organization and support of education in the state.

Bringing about desired policy change is a long and complex process. Much of this occurs long before formal measures are introduced in the legislature (i.e., policy modifications begin in dissatisfaction stages, are developed in crystalization of opinion stages, and surface as formulation of alternatives to present policies in extensive debate stages). The legislature formally becomes involved late in the process, once ideas have been outlined and support has been developed. At this point, the legislature becomes the focal point for translating proposals into state policy. How legislators perceive the process at this latter stage is important for the way the legislature treats the many bills which are introduced annually into the legislative hopper.

The ways in which the legislature goes about its task of making policy relate directly to behavioral norms which develop over time. Legislators operate within a set of real and imaginary constraints which significantly affect how they interact with their fellow legislators and with persons outside the legislative body. They are subject to much pressure from individuals and groups, both within and outside of the state legislature. Within the legislature they interact with their colleagues, committee chairmen and party leaders. Outside of the legislature they interact with executive agency personnel, interest group representatives and various subgroups within their constituency. All of these groups and individuals mix to influence legislators as they vote on educational issues.

Four research methods were employed: document search, unstructured interviews, structured interviews and depth-surveys. Document search was carried out to help identify critical processes and actors involved in educational policy-making. Unstructured interviews were then pursued with the actors, within the governmental structure and among the interest group leadership, who the document search identified as critical persons in the policy-making process. The interviews expanded upon the knowledge gained in document search and further helped to clarify the focus and parameters of the study. Structured interviews with interest group leaders were then carried out to discover their perceptions of the legislative process as it concerns educational policy-making. These perceptions were later checked against those of legislators to determine the extent of perceptual congruency between these two groups. Finally, an in-depth survey instrument adopted from

Wahlke, et al. (1962) was administered to state legislators. Wahlke explored the dynamics of legislative behavior in several states: role definitions and authority structures in legislative bodies, and attention has been shifted from examination of institutions operating under formal rules to an effort to understand the interpersonal dynamics of the actors involved in the policy-making process. The Wahlke team examined education as one of several policy-making areas (see Ferguson, 1960, for more detail on the education portion).

Conclusions

New York State legislators in general do not see educational legislation as differing from other substantive types of legislation. In fact, 78 per cent of those who responded to the survey feel that educational legislation is treated the same way as any other substantive legislation. Most legislators feel that conflicts within the Legislature, based upon 1) the differences of needs of New York City and upstate New York; 2) party differences; and 3) the traditional distrust of the cities by suburbs and rural areas also affect the way educational legislation is handled in the Legislature.

Legislators are highly sensitive to educational issues. In fact, 38 of the respondents noted that education is an area of particular interest to them. This is the most frequently noted area of substantive interest reported by legislators; the second most important area is local government, noted by only 14 legislators. This sensitivity toward educational matters is confirmed by perceptions of legislators concerning the most critical issues before the 1969 Legislature. These issues were budgetary considerations (76%); decentralization of school districts (56%); public employee matters - in particular the state's collective negotiations act (23%); and abortion (13%). Thus the three most important issues before the Legislature, according to respondents, were all educational issues. With this background, we can return to the four general findings concerning perceptions and tactics of educational interest groups, to see how well they correspond to perceptions of legislators.

The report summarized the data contrasting perceptions of educational interest group leaders with those of state legislators concerning the educational policy-making process at the state level, particularly within the State Legislature. The results of the study indicate that there are several critical differences in perceptions of the policy-making process:

1. The governor's office as the focal point of the policy-making process. Interest group leaders perceive the Governor and his executive agencies as the entree point to the policy-making process. Legislators do not feel that the governor plays such an important role in this process. Rather, legislators believe that there is more policy-making initiative from within the Legislature itself.

All of the educational interest groups see the governor's office as the critical access point to the policy-making process for several reasons. First, the Governor, as a state-wide elected official is in a position to bring state-wide influence to bear on an issue. Second, the Governor is responsible for developing an executive program and an accompanying executive budget which forecasts the state's programmatic and fiscal needs and, in turn, establishes the major tasks for legislative activities. Third, as the recognized leader of his party, he can bring great influence to bear on his party's state legislators. Thus, in view of the educational interest groups his unique position makes the Governor a critical entree point to the policy-making process.

Legislators, on the other hand, feel that the Governor's influence is not nearly so great. In fact, a large minority (41%) reported that they give the governor's position little or no attention when voting on bills. Forty-two per cent feel that consideration of the Governor's position depends on the issue.

2. The Legislature as a highly centralized body.
Interest group leaders perceive the legislature as highly controlled by a few leaders who carry the governor's program. Legislators feel that these party leaders have much less influence than supposed them by outsiders and that the leaders do not carry the governor's program in the Legislature.

Within the Legislature itself, interest group leaders focus their activities on the legislative leadership. Typically educational interest groups define "legislative leadership" as the Speaker, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the Chairman of the Educational Committee in the Assembly and the Majority Leader, the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Chairman of the Education Committee in the Senate as well as the minority leader in each chamber. A secondary tactic, and one less universal in application, is to influence individual legislators in their home district. In this instance, contact activities are carried on by the interest group membership.

Again, there is a significant difference in the way the educational interest group leaders and the legislators view the Legislature's operations. Very few responding legislators (9%) view the legislative leaders as overseeing the governor's program and only six per cent of responding legislators feel that their party leaders influence how they decide about how to vote on pending legislation. There are additional data which indicate a wide discrepancy in perceptions of legislators and interest group leaders concerning the degree to which the legislature is a centralized decision-making body. A highly centralized legislative body requires the parties to maintain tight discipline among their members. However, only 38 per cent of the responding legislators agreed that there is tight party discipline. Sixteen per cent feel that there might be tight party discipline, depending upon the issue at hand. Most legislators acknowledged that they consider the views of their party leaders before they vote on a bill, but, contrary to expectations, only

32 per cent noted that a critical factor in considering the party leader's position is whether the bill is a party measure. In fact, a majority of the respondents feel that there are definitely times when a legislator should not vote with his party. In particular, he should be free to vote the dictates of his conscience (55%) and should give preference to his district's needs over those of his party (59%).

The focal point of the legislative process is the committee system. It is to committees that individual legislators must bring proposed legislation for study, review and approval before it may reach debate and voting on the chamber floor. The committee chairman plays a crucial role in the committee structure. Legislators feel (40%) that he is able to foster or hinder the flow of a bill. In fact, 24 per cent of the responding legislators referred to the chairman as having "life or death" power over the destiny of a bill. It should be noted, however, that a similar number (26%) felt that the party leaders control the committees. Partially this is because the leadership makes committee appointments. Nevertheless, 63 per cent of the respondents recognized the fact that legislation is most expeditiously moved when legislators contact the appropriate committee chairman and/or other members of that committee. Surprisingly few (14%) feel it is necessary to speak with the chamber's leadership to assure the success of a measure. If they do, it is because they have good judgment and general knowledge or have seniority and expertise, not because they are part of the chamber's leadership.

3. Information as a potent interest group activity. Educational interest group leaders feel that their most important influencing weapon is access to information which can be used by legislators in their decision-making process. Legislators feel that there are many sources of information at their disposal; interest group data is but one source and not often the most important.

In most instances educational interest group leaders reported that their most important influencing mechanism is the information gathering potential of their organizations. This is particularly true of the New York State Teachers Association, the Educational Conference Board and the Conference of Large City Boards of Education. The assumption behind the data gathering activities of these organizations is that through their unique ability to provide necessary information, they are able to influence the processing of educational legislation. Other educational interest groups, such as the New York School Boards Association and the Council of School District Administrators use the data gathering capacities of these organizations rather than carry on the costly research process.

No legislator can be an expert in more than a few substantive areas. Consequently it becomes important that sufficient information be made available if legislators are to understand measures upon which they must vote. The educational interest groups see their ability to present complete and accurate data for consideration by legislators as their most important influencing weapon. However, there are many sources to which legislators can turn for information concerning proposed legislation. These sources are both within and outside the Legislature.

Information from interest groups ranked second, far behind information sources from within the Legislature itself and just ahead of several other information sources. In actual fact, in the past several years the Legislature in New York has developed quite sophisticated information gathering systems in order to free itself of dependencies on the governor's executive agencies and outside interest groups. Sources of information concentrated within the Legislature are centralized research services and the sponsors of bills. When little information seems available, both senators and assemblymen prefer to talk to their friends, see the sponsor of a bill or listen to the floor debate to help them make a decision. When asked where they might turn to when no information seems available on a measure, only one per cent said they check with interest groups for data. Actually interest groups ranked last in a list of 12 possible sources to turn for information in these instances.

4. Representation of interest group concerns.
Educational interest groups concentrate their activities in the hands of a few men at the state capital and ask their membership to influence legislators from their home districts. Legislators feel that groups, educational and non-educational, from their home areas are more important than are the formal interest groups representatives in the state capital in influencing their actions.

Responsibility for carrying on the activities of the interest groups appears to reside both at the state and local level. In most cases there is an office established in the state capital with at least one individual responsible for the daily activities of the organization, including visits with the governor's aides and the legislative leadership. At the same time it is expected that, as organizational objectives concerning educational legislation develop, members within the organization will apply pressure on their legislators from "the grass-roots" level. In addition, the urban oriented educational interest groups attempt to involve governmental officials to press legislators and the governor for educational needs.

Representatives of interest groups attempt to influence legislators in directions which favor the needs of their memberships. Legislators spend much time in conversation with representatives of these groups and in reading their literature. Eventually they must decide how seriously to take their views into consideration when voting on legislation. It has already been noted that educational interest groups in New York see as their most potent influencing weapon, the collection and dissemination of data by one or two persons representing the membership of each group in the state capital. In addition, these organizations attempt to rally their memberships to influence their legislators at the district level.

An important source of influence on legislators' views of education matters seems to be educators back home and the people of the district. The next most important sources are the experts and the education committees in each house. Length of legislative service had a bearing on the importance ratings. In both houses, the influence of educators back home declined slightly among the senior members while legislative experts rose in importance for this group. In the Senate, the education committee remained important regardless of years of service while the influence of the leaders declined. The leaders in Assembly became more important the longer the member served.

According to responding legislators the three most powerful interest groups in New York are labor (79%), education (54%) and banking, finance and insurance interests (32%). Sixty-two per cent feel that the size (or voting strength) of an interest group is its most important basis of power. Money (29%), effective propaganda (25%) and good organization (20%) trailed far behind the membership size criteria. Educational interest group representatives, potentially, can use their large constituency size to good effect. This has not been tested extensively in New York, but legislators appear cognizant of the potential of such a voting block.

The most powerful interest groups in education, according to legislators, are the United Federation of Teachers (54%); the New York State School Boards Association (26%); and the New York State Teachers Association (23%). This ranking is somewhat unexpected because the New York State Teachers Association maintains a year-round complex operation in the state capital, while the United Federation of Teachers focuses its resources more at the local level, particularly in New York City. Another unexpectedly low visibility group is the Educational Conference Board (5%) which acts as a clearinghouse for the major upstate educational interest groups.

Implications for Educational Interest Groups

These initial findings indicate that the New York State Legislature may not be as open to the blandishments of the educational interest groups as it has been in the past. The strategies of the educational interest groups - focused on supplying information to the governor's office and the legislative leadership appear to have basic flaws.. The governor's office may not have as much direct influence on the legislature as educational interest group leaders perceive. Similarly, the relative independence of legislators from the legislative leadership which respondents report indicates that representatives of the educational interest groups may have to differentiate their strategies within the Legislature. Finally, the low visibility of the information gathering potential of educational interest groups reported by responding legislators indicates that educators had best find better ways of getting the facts they have gathered into the Legislature's information net. One fact is clear; educational interest groups do not have a monopoly on information supply.

Even if the educational interest groups are able to make the necessary modifications to increase their impact at the state level, the results of the study indicate that the most important influence factor on the legislative process may, in the long run, be the ability of the memberships of these groups to influence legislators at the "grass-roots" level. Thus it probably is incumbent on these groups to step up activities at the school district and legislative district levels. This would require that they develop coordinating activities to enhance the potential for policy changes to come from these more decentralized levels. This would be a major change from the present state-wide program approach whereby the organizations concentrate their fiscal and human resources on lobbying activities at the state level.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

101

Please Write Clearly and Go Over Your Notes After the Interview

New York State Legislative Interview Schedule

1969 Legislative Session

Name of Interviewer ______________________________ Telephone No. __________

Interview No. ________________

Date of Interview ____________________ Number of Callbacks __________________

Time: From ___________ to __________ Number of Questions Completed __________

Place ____

****

The following data is to be entered prior to the interview. Consult the 1969 New York State Redbook and Legislative Manual for the information.

1. Name of Respondent ____
2. Place of Birth. City or Town ______________________ County ____________
   State _______________________
3. Age of respondent __________________
4. Male _____________ Female ______________
5. Race __________________________ (by observation)
6. Married __________________________ Unmarried ___________________
7. (If married) Number of Children _____________________________________
8. School respondent attended: High School ______________________________
   College __________________________________
   Professional ______________________________
   Other ____________________________________
9. Income other than as a legislator (From Secretary of State's Office) $____________

10. Political endorsements in last election (circle as appropriate)

Republican Democrat Conservative Liberal Independent

11. District Number ______________

12. Positions held in the 1969 Legislature (include JLC's)

Committee Chairmanships ______________, ______________

Committee Memberships ______________, ______________

____

Other ______________, ______________

13. Previous Legislative service:

State Senate ________ to ________; ________ to ________ total years ____

State Assembly ________ to ________: ________ to ________ total years ___

Total service ______________

14. Public offices held and when. (other than as a legislator)(federal, state and local)

____

____

15. Delegate to the 1967 constitutional convention Yes ________ No ________

****

THE FOLLOWING DATA IS TO BE COLLECTED BY PERSONAL INTERVIEW. PLEASE FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY.

Introduction.

Hello, I am ______________. I am working as a member of the survey group which is studying the State Legislature. We are interested in getting your response to a series of questions dealing with how the legislature works.

I'd like to start with a few questions about your background and political career.

16. Did you spend most of the years you were growing up in a (circle one)

city small town farm

17. How many years of formal education have you completed? (circle one)

0-8   9+   12   12+   16   16+

18. How many years have you been living in the district you represent in the Legislature? ____________________

19. Do you own your own home or other property in the district? (circle)

Yes   No

20. How would you characterize the district you represent? Would you say it is urban, suburban or rural? (check all responses)

a. ______urban: (Probe for______industrial, ______commercial, __residential)

________suburban: (Probe for______industrial, ______commercial, __________ residential) ____rural: (Probe for ______agricultural__non-farm___small town)

b. What would you estimate the typical family income to be in your district?

$________________

c. Do most of your constituents own their own homes or do they rent?

own   rent

d. Would you characterize the constituents in your district as

________professionals ______white collar ______blue collar ____laborers

21. How did you become interested in politics, through what kinds of activities?

a. (probe for what R did that led to the decision to seek offices.)

____

____

____

____

____

b. (if R doesn't mention running for the Legislature, ask)
Just how did it come about that you decided to run for the Legislature?

____

____

22. Now a couple of questions about the job of being a legislator:

a. How would you describe your job; what are the most important things that you should do here? ____________________

____

____

____

____

____

b. Are there important differences between what you think the job is and the way the people back home see it? yes no
(if yes) what are they? ____________________

____

____

____

____

c. What consideration do you give to the attitudes of your constituents before you vote on a bill? ____________________

____

____

____

23. It is said that every Legislature has its unofficial rules of the game -- certain things that members must do and certain things that members must not do -- if they want the respect and cooperation of fellow members.

a. What seem to be some of these things -- these rules of the game -- that a member must observe to hold the respect and cooperation of his fellow members? ____________________

____

____

____

b. Some members don't seem to have the respect and cooperation of their fellow members because they don't follow the rules of the game. What are some of the things that may cause a member to lose the respect and cooperation of his fellow members?

24. Turning now to the leadership in the Legislature, I'd like to ask you a few questions about roles of the leaders.

a. What does the Speaker of the Assembly (Majority leader in the Senate)

do? (Probe for completeness in his role in legislation as a power in the majority leadership.)

b. (for Assemblymen only) What about the Majority leader, what is his job in the Assembly?

c. (for Assemblymen and Senators) And what is the Minority leader's job?

d. What other things do you think these leaders ought to do in order to be more effective? (Speaker, Majority and Minority leaders in Assembly; Majority and Minority leaders in Senate.)

25. a. How much cooperation is there between the Speaker (majority leader) and minority leader in the Assembly (Senate)? (Probe for reasons)

________ very little ________ sufficient ________ extensive

b. Do they cooperate more, or less, on legislation dealing with education? (if cooperation differs, probe for reasons)

26. a. What does a committee chairman do? (Probe for completeness.)

b. What other things do you think a chairman ought to do in order to be more effective?

c. (If not answered in A or B, ask) How do the things which the party leaders do affect the workings of the committee system?

27. a. Do the leaders do anything different when bills dealing with education are considered?

b. (If yes) How is that? (probe: what is changed in the roles?)

28. a. What do the Joint Legislative Committees Do?

b. Does the job of the Joint Legislative Committee to revise and simplify the Education Law differ in any respect? (probe for completeness)

29. Next, I'd like to turn to the actual work on legislation, work that concerns you every day.

a. Are there any particular subjects or fields of legislation in which you consider yourself particularly knowledgeable -- I mean when it comes to dealing with proposed legislation in that field?
What are they? __________

b. (if education is mentioned, ask) Any particular area of education? 8

30. a. Who do you consider to be the one or two most influential members of the Legislature in those areas in which you consider yourself most knowledgeable? (probe for reasons)

31. a. How does a member go about moving a piece of legislation which he introduced or in which he is interested? In this house?

b. In the other house?

32. Could you name five or six members of the Assembly (Senate) whom you consider to be particularly expert in their respective legislative issue areas? (probe to get definite areas).

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

6)

33. What sources of information are available to you here in the Legislature
a. when you want to study the facts behind a bill? (probe for specifics)

b. How do you decide which way to vote if you have little knowledge about a bill and information doesn't seem to be available?

34. a. Who are the members you most often contact in order to discuss issues which are before the Legislature? (probe for issues on which R contacts each of these members.)

1) ______

2) ______

3) ______

4) ______

b. Why do you contact these people more than any others?

35. We are also interested in how the parties work in the Legislature.

a. It is said that party discipline is tight in the New York State Legislature. Would you agree or disagree ?

agree disagree

b. (if agree) How is discipline maintained in the group?

c. (If disagree) What makes you say that? ________________

36. What consideration do you give to the positions taken by your party leaders before you decide how to vote on bills? (Probe for issues where "great" consideration may be given.)

37. a. What are some of the advantages of going along with your party leaders when they seek your support on a bill? (get several items)

b. Under what circumstances do you think that it is not necessary for a member to vote with his party? (probe to get several circumstances)

c. Are those conditions about the same when it comes to legislation dealing with education? yes no

(if not) What varies and how?

38. a. There are always conflicting opinions in a legislature. Which of these particular conflicts of opinion rank first, second and third in importance here in New York? (Hand R Card I.)

1) Republicans vs. Democrats ____________________
2) The Governor's supporters vs. his opponents ____________________
3) The cities vs. the suburban and rural areas ____________________
4) Liberal vs. Conservatives __________ (probe if ranked one or two)
5) New York City vs. upstate ____________________

b. Are there any divisions more important than those on this list?

____

c. Would you now rank first, second or third these conflicting opinions with regard to education issues?

1) Republicans vs. Democrats ____________________

2) The Governor's supporters vs. his opponents ____________________

3) The cities vs. the suburban and rural areas ____________________

4) Liberals vs. conservatives ____________________

5) New York City vs. upstate ____________________

d. Are there any divisions more important than those on this list?

____

(Take Card I back from R, gently. . .)

39. a. Now, about the Governor -- what would you say are the main reasons for whatever power or influence the Governor has over legislation?

____

____

____

____

b. What consideration do you give to the positions taken by the Governor before you decide how to vote on legislation? (Probe for issues where "great" consideration may be given.)

____

____

____

40. a. You hear a lot these days about the power of interest groups and lobbies in state politics. Which would you say are the three most powerful in New York?

1)____

2)____

3)____

b. In general, what would you say underlies the power of these groups -- what are the main reasons for any influence they have?

c. What consideration do you give to the position taken by interest groups before you decide how to vote on legislation? (probe for issues where "great" consideration may be given.)

41. What do you believe are the two most crucial issues before this session of the Legislature?

1)____

2)____

(If one issue is in education, ask only for second most pressing problem in Question 42. If both are educational issues, skip to 42b).

42. a. Almost every session of the Legislature faces some important issues in education, that is, issues which revolve around the public schools. What would you say rank as the first and second most pressing education issues facing this session?

1)____

2)____

b. Why do you think 1)____________________ is a critical problem?

c. Why do you think 2) ______________________ is a critical problem?

____

____

____

d. Can you tell me what solution you would personally favor for the education issues you mentioned?

1)____

____

____

2)____

____

____

43. Now, I would like you to help me find out how members of this chamber feel about financing education.

a. What are the positions of the Democrats and Republicans

1. Democrats ______________________________

____

2. Republicans ____________________________

____

b. What about rural , urban and suburban members? (probe for completeness)

1. Rural__________________________________

____

2. Urban__________________________________

____

3. Suburban_______________________________

____

44. Do many of your constituants contact you about issues in education and the public schools? yes no

45. a. Some people say state aid to schools should be increased. Others say it is sufficient. Still others say that the state aid for schools should be reduced. What do the people in your district think? ______________________________

____

____

b. (If R's people think state aid should not be increased, ask if further funds are needed what revenue source should supply them?)

____

____

____

46. Just to get an overall picture, how would you rank each of these items in leading you to see education issues as you do, very important, important, unimportant? (Hand Card II to R)

	very important	important	unimportant
a. views of experts in the Legislature	____	____	____
b. advice of party leaders	____	____	____
c. education interest groups	____	____	____
d. word from people in your district	____	____	____
e. education committee reports	____	____	____
f. other legislative committee reports	____	____	____
g. legislative staff opinions	____	____	____
h. educators back home	____	____	____
i. views of executive dept. agencies	____	____	____

j. (If i above is mentioned as very important or important, ask) You said executive department agencies were (very) important. Which agencies did you have in mind? (probe for reasons).

____

____

____

k. (If f is mentioned as very important or important, ask) You also said other committee reports were (very) important. Which committees did you have in mind?

____

____

____

47. a. Do you feel that information resources in the Legislature are adequate for helping you understand the details of education legislation? yes no

b. (If no,) What would you say could be done to alleviate the inadequacy?

____

____

____

____

48. *(Check Question 40 - page 12 - before Question 48 to see if R has already mentioned any specific educational groups)

a. What would you say are the three most powerful education interest groups here in New York State? Could you rank them 1-3? (get names of groups.)

1) ____

2) ____

3) ____

b. In general, what would you say underlies the power of these groups -- what are the main reasons for any influence they have?

____

____

____

____

c. What consideration do you give to the position taken by education interest groups before you decide how to vote on educational legislation? (Probe for issues where "great" consideration may be given.)

____

____

____

d. Which statewide interest groups, other than the educators' groups, often take stands on education policies as proposed by the schoolmen? (Probe for those coming out in favor, opposed, or split by issues)

1. ______________________________ ____Favor ____Oppose ____Split
2. ______________________________ ____Favor ____Oppose ____Split
3. ______________________________ ____Favor ____Oppose ____Split
4. ______________________________ ____Favor ____Oppose ____Split
5. ______________________________ ____Favor ____Oppose ____Split

49. a. It is often said that the education needs of New York City are different from those of the rest of the state. It is also said that these needs have an effect on the way in which the Legislature handles education bills. Do you agree or disagree?

agree disagree

b. (if agree) Would you tell me how, specifically, these differences affect legislative process?

____

____

____

____

THANK YOU (closing statement to be completed)

(INTERVIEWER REMAIN SEATED)

50. a. Before I go, is there anything else about the Legislature and how it works that you think we ought to pay attention to in our study? (listen carefully)

TO BE COMPLETED BY INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW

51. Were other persons present or within earshot during the interview?

yes, throughout   yes, at times   no

52. Interviewer's estimate of frankness and sincerity of respondent's replies.

very frank   frank   frank at times   not frank

53. Interviewer's estimate of cooperativeness of respondent in the interview situation.

very cooperative   cooperative   uncooperative

54. Interviewer's general impressions of respondent concerning:

a) his personal characteristics

b) political outlook, orientation to political life

c) conceptions of party, lobbies, constituents, the Executive

d) conceptions of himself as a legislator

e) any other comments which might be pertinent:

APPENDIX B

LEGISLATIVE SURVEY DATA

TABLE 1

MONTHS IN WHICH INTERVIEWS WERE CARRIED OUT

Month of Interview	TOTAL (N=111)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=26)
February	3%	2%	3%
March	59	58	66
April	12	11	15
May	14	16	8
June	12	13	8
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 2

PLACE OF BIRTH

Place of Birth of Legislators	TOTAL (N=109)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=24)
Upstate City	14%	17%	4%
New York City	52	52	54
Western New York City	3	3	-
Upstate Rural or Town	10	9	13
Downstate Rural or Town	5	5	4
Western New York Rural or Town	1	1	-
Southern Tier Rural or Town	1	-	4
Out of State	9	8	13
Out of U.S.A.	5	5	8
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 3

WHERE LEGISLATORS WERE RAISED

Area Grew Up In	TOTAL (N=114)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=27)
City	73%	77%	63%
Small Town	23	21	30
Farm	-	-	-
City, Small Town	1	1	-
City, Farm	1	1	-
Small Town, Farm	2	-	2
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 4

AGE OF LEGISLATORS

Age of Legislators	TOTAL (N=104)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=22)
21-29	2%	4%	-%
30-34	10	12	-
35-39	14	13	14
40-44	24	26	18
45-49	20	18	27
50-54	15	13	23
55-59	9	9	9
60-69	6	5	9
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 5

LEGISLATORS' SEX AND RACE

Sex and Race of Legislators	TOTAL (N=116)	ASSEMBLY (N=89)	SENATE (N=27)
Male (No Race Designated)	1%	1%	-%
Female (No Race Designated)	-	-	-
Male Caucasian	92	92	92
Female Caucasian	1	1	-
Male Negro	6	6	8
Female Negro	-	-	-
Male Other	-	-	-
Female Other	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 6

LEGISLATORS' MARITAL STATUS/CHILDREN

Marital Status and Number of Children of Legislators	TOTAL (N=114)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=27)
Unmarried (No Spouse) 0 Children	5%	6%	4%
Unmarried (No Spouse) 1-2 Children	3	2	7
Unmarried (No Spouse) 3-5 Children	1	-	4
Unmarried (No Spouse) 6 or More Children	-	-	-
Married, 0 Children (or No Information on Children)	9	10	7
Married, 1-2 Children	41	43	34
Married, 3-5 Children	36	35	41
Married, 6 or More Children	4	3	3
No Information on Children	1	1	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 7

TYPES OF EDUCATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Schools Attended by Legislators	TOTAL (N=106)	ASSEMBLY (N=81)	SENATE (N=25)
Public High Only	4%	4%	4%
Private High Only	3	3	4
Public High, Public College Only	5	7	-
Private High, Private College Only	4	4	4
Public High, Private College Only	7	9	4
Private High, Public College Only	1	1	-
Pub. High, Pub. College, Pub. Prof. School	3	1	8
Priv. High, Priv. College, Priv. Prof. School	14	15	12
Pub. High, Priv. College, Priv. Prof. School	32	33	28
Pub. High, Pub. College, Priv. Prof. School	20	17	28
Priv. High, Priv. College, Pub. Prof. School	1	1	-
Priv. High, Pub. College, Pub. Prof. School	-	-	-
Pub. High, Priv. College, Pub. Prof. School		1	4
Other		4	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 8

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (IN YEARS)

Years of Formal Education of Legislators	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
0-8	-%	-%	-%
9+	-	-	-
12	7	8	4
12+	11	11	11
16	14	14	11
16+	68	67	74
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 9

CAREER PATTERNS

Occupation of Legislators	TOTAL (N=115)	ASSEMBLY (N=88)	SENATE (N=27)
Lawyer	57%	54%	70%
Agriculture	3	3	4
Insurance, Real Estate	7	7	7
Merchant, Contractor, Small Bus., Advertising, Mfg., Indust. Executive or Owner	14	16	7
Sales, Clerical, other White Collar	5	7	-
Labor	-	-	-
Newspaperman, Editor, Publisher, Radio, TV Journalist	1	1	-
Prof'l. other than Lawyer or Educator (Dr., DDS, Veterinarian, Accountant, Engineer, Social Worker)	7	8	4
Educator, including Teachers and Administrators	4	3	4
Skilled Craft	-	-	-
Office Holder	2	1	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 10

LOCAL OFFICE POSITIONS OF LEGISLATORS

Local Public Offices Held by Legislators	TOTAL (N=57)	ASSEMBLY (N=35)	SENATE (N=12)
Executive, Village	4%	6%	-%
Executive, Town	23	26	17
Executive, County	23	20	34
Executive, City	13	14	8
Legislative, Village	-	-	-
Legislative, Town	9	9	8
Legislative, County (Town Super.)	13	11	17
Legislative, City	11	11	8
School Board (Incl. Coop. Boards, elected or appointed)	4	3	8
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 11

STATE AND FEDERAL OFFICE POSITIONS OF LEGISLATORS

Public Offices Held by Legislators - State - Federal	TOTAL (N=22)	ASSEMBLY (N=16)	SENATE (N=6)
State Elected	-%	-%	-%
Federal Elected	-	-	-
State Appointed	55	50	67
Federal Appointed	27	31	17
State Elected, Federal Appointed	-	-	-
State Appointed, Federal Elected	14	19	-
State Elected, Federal Elected	-	-	-
State Appointed, Federal Appointed	4	-	16
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 12

PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Political Endorsements of Legislators	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Republican	38%	38%	37%
Democrat	31	30	33
Conservative	-	-	-
Liberal	-	-	-
Republican-Conservative	7	8	4
Republican-Liberal	3	2	7
Democrat-Conservative	-	-	-
Democrat-Liberal	20	21	19
Other	1	1	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 13

SERVICE IN THE SENATE

Years of Previous Service - Senate	TOTAL (N=106)	ASSEMBLY (N=79)	SENATE (N=27)
1	2%	-%	7%
2	-	-	-
3	6	-	22
4	6	-	22
5	2	-	7
6	-	-	-
More than 6	7	2	23
Never Served or Freshman	77	98	19
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 14

SERVICE IN THE ASSEMBLY

Years of Previous Service - Assembly	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=23)
1	2%	2%	-%
2	9	12	-
3	16	21	-
4	10	13	-
5	2	2	-
6	4	3	9
More than 6	23	24	17
Never Served or Freshman	34	23	74
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 15

YEARS OF TOTAL SERVICE IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE

Years of Previous Service - Total	TOTAL (N=115)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=27)
1	3%	2%	4%
2	8	10	-
3	22	22	22
4	11	12	11
5	2	2	-
6	2	3	-
More than 6	31	26	48
Never Served or Freshman	21	23	15
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 16

REASONS FOR BECOMING INVOLVED IN POLITICS

Legislators Became Interested in Politics	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=25)
Personal Interest, Family	68%	67%	76%
Interest in Affecting Political Decisions	19	21	12
Political Group Chose Me	9	9	8
Community Group Chose Me	5	5	4
Occupation Led to Interest	18	18	20
Affects of Educational Background	16	15	20
Other	4	5	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 17

REASONS FOR RUNNING FOR LEGISLATURE

Decision to Run for Legislature	TOTAL (N=113)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=26)
Personal Interest	50%	51%	46%
Interest in Affecting Political Decisions	12	13	8
Political Group Chose Me	34	32	38
Community Group Chose Me	9	11	-
Occupation Led to Interest	11	11	8
Affects of Educational Background	4	5	-
Prior Political Activities	32	28	46
Other	4	5	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 18

LENGTH OF RESIDENCY IN DISTRICTS LEGISLATORS REPRESENT

No. of Years Spent in District Representing	TOTAL (N=113)	ASSEMBLY (N=89)	SENATE (N=24)
0-5	4%	6%	-%
6-10	9	9	8
11-20	20	19	21
21-30	19	18	25
31-40	20	21	17
41-50	14	14	17
51-60	11	11	8
60+	3	2	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 19

THE CONSTITUENTS: OCCUPATIONS

Occupations of Constituents	TOTAL (N=114)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=27)
Professionals	1%	1%	-%
White Collar	15	11	26
Blue Collar	11	13	8
Laborers	7	6	11
Professional & White Collar	13	17	-
Blue Collar & Laborers	10	10	7
Professional, White Collar and Blue Collar, Laborers	25	28	19
All	16	14	22
Don't Know	2	-	7
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 20

THE CONSTITUENTS: DWELLING PATTERNS

Constituents Own Or Rent Homes	TOTAL (N=114)	ASSEMBLY (N=89)	SENATE (N=25)
Most Own	47%	48%	44%
Most Rent	33	32	36
Evenly Split	19	20	16
Don't Know	1	-	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 21

THE CONSTITUENTS: FAMILY INCOME

Family Income in District	TOTAL (N=107)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=25)
$1,000-2,999	1%	1%	-%
$3,000-4,999	10	10	12
$5,000-6,999	10	11	8
$7,000-9,999	33	34	28
$10,000-14,999	28	31	20
$15 000-19,999	1	1	-
$20,000-24,999	1	1	-
$25 000+	-	1	-
Don't Know	16	11	32
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 22

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS: ECONOMIC STATUS

Economic Status of District	TOTAL (N=105)	ASSEMBLY (N=80)	SENATE (N=25)
Industrial	1%	-%	4%
Commercial	10	9	12
Residential	47	48	44
Industrial, Commercial	2	2	4
Industrial, Residential	4	4	4
Commercial, Residential	11	11	12
Indust., Comm., Resid.	14	14	16
Rural	11	12	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 23

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS: RESIDENTIAL STATUS

Residential Status of District	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
	(N=115)	(N=89)	(N=26)
Urban	52%	52%	54%
Suburban	21	19	27
Rural	10	10	8
Urban, Suburban	6	8	-
Urban, Rural	2	2	-
Suburban, Rural	4	6	-
Urban, Suburban, Rural	5	3	11
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 24

EXTENT TO WHICH LEGISLATORS OWN PROPERTY IN THEIR DISTRICTS

Legislators Own Property In District	TOTAL (N=116)	ASSEMBLY (N=89)	SENATE (N=27)
Yes	74%	72%	82%
No	26	28	18
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 25

CONSIDERATION LEGISLATORS GIVE TO CONSTITUENT ATTITUDES BEFORE VOTING

Consideration to Attitudes of Constituents Before Voting	TOTAL (N=115)	ASSEMBLY (N=88)	SENATE (N=27)
Great Deal	46%	50%	33%
Some	48	43	63
Very Little	4	5	4
None	2	2	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 26

WHEN LEGISLATORS CONSIDER CONSTITUENT ATTITUDES

Consideration to Attitudes of Constituents Before Voting	TOTAL (N=59)	ASSEMBLY (N=42)	SENATE (N=17)
Depends on Whether it is a Party Issue	-%	-%	-%
Depends on Whether it is a Statewide Issue	5	7	-
Depends on the Issue Itself	27	26	29
If My Conscience Dictates Otherwise and/or I know Better	54	50	65
Other	14	17	6
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 27

LEGISLATORS/CONSTITUENTS AND THE JOB OF BEING A LEGISLATOR

People Back Home See Job Differently	**TOTAL** (N=116)	**ASSEMBLY** (N=89)	**SENATE** (N=27)
Yes	65%	62%	78%
No	34	37	22
Don't Know	1	1	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 28

HOW CONSTITUENTS VARY FROM LEGISLATORS IN VIEWING THE LEGISLATIVE ROLE*

Differences in Way People Back Home See the Job	TOTAL (N=78)	ASSEMBLY (N=57)	SENATE (N=21)
People Not Aware of Full Job - Lack Knowledge	51%	56%	38%
People Don't See Larger Needs of State (Provincial Viewpoint)	36	35	38
People Don't See Party Issues	3	-	9
People Don't See Complexity and/or Diversity of Issues	35	35	33
Combination	5	5	5
Other	22	23	19

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 29

HOW LEGISLATORS SEE THEIR ROLE*

Most Important Things Legislators Should Do	TOTAL (N=116)	ASSEMBLY (N=89)	SENATE (N=27)
Represent District, Constituency, Interests	68%	70%	62%
Act on Own Best Judgment (Initiatory), Make Decisions	20	21	15
Act on Own Best Judgment (Support), Make Decisions	10	12	4
Use the Legislative Process (Adapt to Rules) Play the Game	3	4	-
Educate My People	6	7	4
Represent State-Wide Interest	28	25	44
Case Work	13	9	26
Other	15	17	7

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 30

INTERACTING IN THE LEGISLATURE
(RULES OF THE GAME)

Rules of the Game	TOTAL (N=105)	ASSEMBLY (N=80)	SENATE (N=25)
Performance of Obligations	11%	14%	4%
Respect for Other Members' Legislative Rights	28	28	28
Don't Deal in Personalities	27	24	36
Self-Restraint in Debate	10	11	4
Common Courtesy	21	21	20
Honesty	17	20	8
Anti-Grandstanding/Self Restraint in Goals	11	13	8
Personal Conduct (Virtue)	12	14	8
Willingness to Compromise	11	10	16
Openness in Opposition (Notify if You Change Stands)	4	3	8
Go Along With the Party	13	9	28
Ability and Intelligence	16	18	12
Respect for Seniority (Older Members) - Apprenticeship	8	6	12
Negotiations (Trade-Offs)	5	5	8
Sociability	14	16	8
Institutional Patriotism	7	8	4

---

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 31

INTERACTING IN THE LEGISLATURE
(RULES OF THE GAME)
SECOND PROBE

Rules of the Game	TOTAL (N=98)	ASSEMBLY (N=74)	SENATE (N=24)
Performance of Obligations	21%	20%	25%
Respect for Other Members' Legislative Rights	12	12	13
Don't Deal in Personalities	28	28	25
Self-Restraint in Debate	17	20	8
Common Courtesy	15	18	4
Honesty	15	11	13
Anti-Grandstanding/Self-Restraint in Goals	17	19	13
Personal Conduct (Virtue)	10	11	8
Willingness to Compromise	10	8	8
Openness in Opposition (Notify if You Change Stands)	4	4	4
Go Along With the Party	15	11	25
Ability and Intelligence	19	23	8
Respect for Seniority (Older Members) Apprenticeship	3	4	-
Negotiations (Trade-Offs)	3	3	4
Sociability	7	5	13
Institutional Patriotism	3	3	4

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 32

ROLES OF SPEAKER OF ASSEMBLY AND MAJORITY LEADER OF SENATE*

Job of the Speaker	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Sets Rules	18%	21%	7%
Makes Legislative Staffing Appointments	16	18	11
"Runs the Show"	57	63	33
Looks After Interests of the Members	3	2	4
Controls the Party/States Party Position	38	33	59
Controls Committees (Appointments)	30	34	15
Controls Bills	30	32	22
Controls Finances	7	6	11
Resolves Conflict in the Chamber	9	7	15
Resolves Conflict with the Other Chamber	6	8	-
Resolves Conflict with the Executive Branch	4	4	4
Oversees the Governor's Program	9	6	19
Controls Debate on Legislation	10	10	11
Other	10	9	15

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 33

ROLES OF THE MAJORITY LEADER OF ASSEMBLY* **

Job of Majority Leader	ASSEMBLY (N=90)
Floor Manager (Work With Other Party/Set Speaking Order)	18%
Cary Out Wishes of the Speaker	67
Articulate the Views of the Party	37
Maintain Party Discipline (Get the Votes)	21
Lead and Close the Debate	20
Give the Party Information	8
Other	10

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

**The Majority Leader position in the Assembly is newly created and is similar in function to that of Majority Whip in U. S. Senate.

TABLE 34

ROLES OF THE MINORITY LEADER: SENATE AND ASSEMBLY*

Job of Minority Leader	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Establish Party Views	15%	19%	4%
Express Party Views	21	33	19
Represent the Opposition (Loyal Opposition)	38	34	48
Muster Party Votes for "Some" Majority Party Bills	3	2	4
Muster Other Party's Votes for "Some" Minority Bills	4	3	7
Comparable to Majority Leader or Speaker, for his Party	32	32	30
Keep Party Informed	4	6	-
Maintain Party Discipline	15	17	11
Lead the Party on the Floor	4	6	-
Provide Legislative Staffing, etc., for Party	3	3	-
Minority Committee Assignments	3	3	-
Other	7	5	15

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 35

THINGS LEADERS SHOULD DO TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE*

To Be More Effective Leaders	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Keep Members Informed	9%	8%	15%
Consult With Members on Legislative Matters	17	19	11
Permit Independence (Less Control)	13	13	11
Provide More Assistance	5	6	4
Don't Rely on the Exec. - Innovative Programs	4	3	7
It's Fine Now	24	23	26
Help With Constituency	3	2	4
Other	34	31	44

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 36

EXTENT TO WHICH MAJORITY PARTY AND MINORITY PARTY LEADERS COOPERATE

Cooperation Between Speaker/Maj. Leaders and Min. Leaders	TOTAL (N=108)	ASSEMBLY (N=83)	SENATE (N=25)
Very Little	11%	13%	4%
Sufficient	36	36	36
Extensive	40	35	56
None	-	-	-
Depends	6	7	-
Don't Know	7	9	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 37

BASES FOR COOPERATION OF MAJORITY PARTY AND MINORITY PARTY LEADERS*

Bases for Majority/Minority Party Leaders Cooperation	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Depends on Personalities of Incumbents	16%	16%	19%
Not if it is a Party Measure/ Depends on Issue	14	12	19
If Procedural Items are at Stake	7	8	4
If They Need Votes (And/or Compromise	19	22	7
Due to Respect for Position/ Knowledge	15	12	25
Other	24	19	41

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 38

MAJORITY PARTY AND MINORITY PARTY LEADERS COOPERATION ON EDUCATION

More or Less Cooperation on Education	TOTAL (N=108)	ASSEMBLY (N=94)	SENATE (N=24)
Less	11%	12%	8%
The Same	35	33	42
More, Yes	33	32	38
Don't Know	21	23	12
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 39

BASES FOR COOPERATION OF MAJORITY PARTY AND MINORITY PARTY LEADERS ON EDUCATION*

Majority/Minority Leaders Cooperation on Education	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Depends on Personalities of Incumbents	5%	6%	4%
Not if it is a Party Measure	9	8	11
If Procedural Items are at Stake	1	1	-
If They Need Votes (And/Or Compromises)	1	1	-
Due to Respect for Position/ Knowledge	-	-	-
Education is Vital to the State or Education is Important	16	19	7
Education is Above Partisanship	14	13	15
Less Due to NYC/Upstate Split	3	1	11
On Financial Issues in Education	6	6	7
On Controversial Educational Issues	8	9	4
Other	6	7	4

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore Columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 40

LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES AND EDUCATION

Do Leaders' Activities Differ in Bills Dealing With Education?	TOTAL (N=108)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=26)
Yes	23%	24%	19%
No	68	66	73
Don't Know	9	10	8
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 41

WHY LEADERS' ACTIVITIES DIFFER CONCERNING EDUCATION

How do Leaders' Activities Differ on Education?	TOTAL (N=38)	ASSEMBLY (N=30)	SENATE (N=8)
Education is A-Political (Non-Partisan)	18%	17%	25%
Education is Not as Political	13	13	12
More is Spent on Education than Other Functions	19	13	38
Education Affects Everyone (State-Wide) Very Important	24	24	25
Other	26	33	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 42

ROLE OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN*

Job of Committee Chairman	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Can Foster or Hinder Flow of Bill Thru Committee	40%	38%	48%
Carries Out Wishes of Leadership (Party Leaders	15	16	11
Controls Committee Staffing	2	1	4
Leads Floor Action on Committee Bills	9	10	7
He is Life or Death to a Bill	24	26	18
He Controls Hearings	12	9	22
Preside Over Committee	38	37	41
Provides Information	22	23	19
Other	19	17	22

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 43

THINGS COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN SHOULD DO TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE*

How Chairman Could be More Effective	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Nothing, Everything is Fine Now	15%	12%	26%
Keep the Members Informed	9	10	4
Consult with the Members	9	8	11
He Should be on Other Committees	2	2	-
He Should be Limited in Chairmanship Tenure	-	-	-
He Should Hold Hearings	14	13	15
He Should Have Expertise in the Area	15	16	15
He Should Provide/Have More Staff	12	14	4
He Should Initiate Programs	6	6	7
Meetings Should Be Better Organized	8	8	7
Chairman Should Work on a Year-round Basis (Committee Should)	14	14	11
He Should Develop Sub-Committees	4	6	-
He Should Permit Independence	6	7	4
He Should Represent the Leadership	-	-	-
Other	30	28	37

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 44

HOW PARTY LEADERS' ACTIVITIES AFFECT THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM*

Party Leaders' Activities Affecting Committee System	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Controls Committees	26%	28%	18%
Influences Committees	24	23	26
Little or no Affect on Committees	15	12	26
Consults with Committee Chairmen	12	12	11
Depends on Who Leaders Are	7	6	11
Influence on Committees Depends on Issues.	12	8	20
Chooses Committee Members, Chairmen	10	13	-
Assigns Bills to Committees	3	4	-
Other	9	8	11

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 45

ROLE OF J.L.C.'S*

Activities of JLC	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Very Little or Nothing	8%	7%	11%
Depends on the JLC	5	7	-
Depends on the Leadership	-	-	-
Study Broad Policy Areas	21	17	33
Study Specific Policy Areas	38	39	37
Introduce Legislation and Initiate	60	59	63
Hold Hearings	34	37	26
Take Place of Standing Committees in Recess	22	22	26
Coordination and Communication Link Between Houses	8	9	4
Specialized Staff	1	1	-
Don't Know	2	2	-
Other	9	7	15

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 46

ROLE OF J.L.C. ON EDUCATION

Does JLC on Education Differ?	TOTAL (N=107)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=25)
Yes	20%	17%	28%
No	56	59	48
Don't Know	24	24	24
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 47

HOW THE J.L.C. ON EDUCATION DIFFERS*

How Does JLC on Education Differ?	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
More Technical and/or More Involved	9%	9%	11%
Broader Range of Topics	1	1	-
More Responsive	3	3	4
Better Quality (Staff & Legislators)	9	9	7
Non-Political	3	2	4
Other	10	9	15

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 48

LEGISLATORS' FIELDS OF EXPERTISE*

Field in Which Legislator Feels Knowledgeable	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
None	1	1	-
Criminal Law (Crime)	10	8	2
Finance	7	5	2
Labor	9	5	4
Motor Vehicle	4	3	1
Judiciary	5	4	1
Health	6	4	2
Welfare	7	3	4
Education	38	28	10
Real Estate	2	2	-
Housing	18	14	4
Banking	3	2	1
Social Services	4	4	-
Local Government	14	14	-
Law Enforcement	1	1	-
Corporations	4	3	1
Authorities (Public Corporations)	1	1	-

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Field in Which Legislator Feels Knowledgeable	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Transportation	7	7	-
Insurance	6	6	-
Taxation	7	6	1
Agriculture	8	5	3
Revision of Codified Law	1	1	-
Navigation and Navigable Waters	3	2	1
Penal Law	6	3	3
Conservation	9	7	2
Liquor and Narcotics	5	2	3
Consumer Protection	3	3	-
Ethics	2	2	-
Pollution	4	3	1
Law (Legal)	7	4	3
Religious Freedom	3	2	1
Pornography	1	1	-
Aviation	1	1	-
Election Laws	3	3	-
Adoptions	1	1	-
CPLR - Criminal Procedure, Legal Reform	6	4	2
City Planning and Design	2	2	-
Architecture	1	1	-
Child Abuse	1	1	-
Economic Development	1	-	1

Field in Which Legislator Feels Knowledgeable	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Budget	2	1	1
Mental Health	2	1	1
Construction	2	2	-
Migrant Labor	1	-	1
Marketing	1	-	1
Utilities	3	1	2
Business	1	1	-
Public Administration	1	1	-
Urban Affairs	2	-	2
Town and Village Law	2	1	1
Civil Legal Procedure	1	1	-
Civil Service	4	3	1
Medicare	1	1	-
Railroads	1	1	-
Real Property	1	-	1
Auto Safety	2	2	-
Restaurant Law	1	1	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Only categories to which legislators responded are included in this table.

TABLE 49

AREAS OF EDUCATIONAL EXPERTISE*

Area of Education in Which Legislator Feels Knowledgeable	TOTAL (N=35)	ASSEMBLY (N=25)	SENATE (N=10)
State Aid (Finance)	23%	28%	10%
Programs for the Disadvantaged (i.e., SEEK)	20	24	10
Special Education	6	8	-
Primary-Secondary Education	14	12	20
Elementary Education	6	8	-
Secondary Education	3	-	10
Higher Education	14	8	30
School Decentralization	9	12	-
N.Y.C. Problems	3	-	10
Architectural Design	6	4	10
Regents Scholarships	3	4	-
All Areas	6	8	-
Other	11	8	20

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 50

BASES OF EXPERTISE OF OTHER LEGISLATORS*

Reason for Expertise of Other Legislators	TOTAL (N=51)	ASSEMBLY (N=40)	SENATE (N=11)
Personal Abilities	16%	20%	-%
Knowledge of Field (Expertise)	55	45	91
Tenure on Committee	10	13	-
Combination of Reasons	14	13	18
Committee Chairmen	55	50	73
Other	4	3	9

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 51

MOVING LEGISLATION IN LEGISLATORS' OWN CHAMBER*

How Does Member Move Legislation - This House?	TOTAL (N=112)	ASSEMBLY (N=86)	SENATE (N=26)
Textbook Answers	44%	45%	38%
Line Up Legislative Support	16	20	4
Contact Committee Chairmen and/or Other Committee Members	63	64	65
Talk With the Leadership	13	9	23
Line Up Outside Support (Interest Groups)	7	8	4
Prepare Good Memos	15	15	15
Other	7	8	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 52

MOVING LEGISLATION IN OTHER CHAMBER*

How Does Member Move Legislation - Other House?	TOTAL (N=96)	ASSEMBLY (N=75)	SENATE (N=21)
Same as in My House	74%	72%	81%
Get a Co-Sponsor in Other House	26	28	19
Get Leadership to Talk to Leadership in Other House	5	3	14
Get a Co-Sponsor in Other House/Get Leadership to Talk to Leadership in Other House	-	-	-
Line Up Legislative Support	2	3	-
Other	7	6	5

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 53

AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION*

What Info. is Available for Study of Facts of Bills?	TOTAL (N=113)	ASSEMBLY (N=86)	SENATE (N=27)
Little or None	4%	5%	-%
Centralized Legislative Res. Agencies (Leg. Res. Office, Bill Drafting Serv., ERS)	74	76	70
Counsels, Leg've. Staff, Committee Reports	13	14	11
Other Members	3	2	3
Sponsor and Memorandum	20	21	18
My Own Research/Personal Staff/ McKenny's	11	8	18
The Leadership	5	7	-
Mass Media	4	5	-
Interest Groups, Lobbyists	24	23	26
Executive Agencies	16	17	11
Other	4	-	15

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 54

VOTING WHEN LITTLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE*

How Do You Decide to Vote With Little Information Available?	TOTAL (N=111)	ASSEMBLY (N=87)	SENATE (N=24)
Doesn't Occur Always Info.	15%	11%	29%
Always Info. on Important Bills	4	3	4
See Sponsor - Read the Memo	24	26	17
Friends in Legislature (Respect, Seniority, Interests, Consensus)	24	28	13
Committee and Chairmen - See Them	12	9	21
See Leadership (Party)	5	6	-
Check With Legislative Experts	13	14	8
Listen to Floor Debate	21	22	17
Check With Interest Groups	1	1	-
Check With Exec. Agencies	2	1	4
Use My Own Judgment	14	14	13
Don't Vote or Abstain	4	3	4
Other	9	8	13

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 55

WHY LEGISLATORS SEEK ADVICE OF PARTICULAR LEGISLATORS*

Who Legislators Contact	TOTAL (N=82)	ASSEMBLY (N=65)	SENATE (N=17)
People Near Me	9%	9%	6%
The Leaders (Power)	5	4	6
Respect General Knowledge and Judgment (Expertise)	43	46	82
Come From My Area	11	14	-
My Friend	4	3	6
Seniority/Expertise	23	23	24
State-Wide View	2	3	-
Similar Background/ Constituencies/Interests	21	26	-
Other	7	8	6

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 56

EXTENT TO WHICH PARTY DISCIPLINE IS TIGHT

Tight Party Discipline In N. Y. State Legislature	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=25)
Agree (Tight Discipline	38%	40%	32%
Disagree (Not Tight Discipline)	46	45	48
Agree, But Depends on Issue or Party	16	15	20
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 57

HOW DISCIPLINE IS MAINTAINED*

How is Discipline Maintained?	TOTAL (N=44)	ASSEMBLY (N=35)	SENATE (N=9)
Power of Leaders/Internal Patronage/Reward and Punishment/Committee Assignments	45%	46%	44%
Party Conference and/or Caucus	14	11	22
Common Interest of Members of the Party (Ideological)	32	31	33
Personality of Leaders	2	3	-
Trade-Offs	16	17	11
Other	9	11	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 58

LEGISLATORS WHO BELIEVE THERE IS NO PARTY DISCIPLINE*

Why is Discipline Not Tight?	TOTAL (N=36)	ASSEMBLY (N=27)	SENATE (N=9)
People Vote Their Conscience (Individual Autonomy)	30%	26%	44%
People Vote by Their District (Constituency)	17	19	11
Inability of Groups or Leaders to Impose Discipline	33	38	22
Flexible Leadership Style	22	19	33
There are Other Legislative Factions Than Just Party	11	15	-
Lack of Ideological Consensus	6	4	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 59

CONCERN FOR PARTY LEADERS' POSITIONS ON BILLS

Consideration Legislator Gives to Party Leader Position on Bills	TOTAL (N=112)	ASSEMBLY (N=86)	SENATE (N=26)
Great Deal	27%	26%	31%
Some Attention Along With Other Factors	54	58	42
Little or None	19	16	27
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 60

LEGISLATORS WHO MENTIONED PARTY BILLS

Did Legislator Refer to Party Bills?	TOTAL (N=117)	ASSEMBLY (N=90)	SENATE (N=27)
Did Mention	32%	32%	30%
Did Not Mention	68	68	70
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 61

ADVANTAGES OF COOPERATING WITH PARTY LEADERS*

Advantages of Going With Party Leader When He Seeks Your Support	TOTAL (N=103)	ASSEMBLY (N=78)	SENATE (N=25)
None or Not Much	14%	13%	16%
Support for My Own Bills	41	42	9
Patronage and Staffing	19	21	16
Further the Principles of Political Party (Ideological)	14	13	16
Promotion Within the System (Incl. Committee Assignments	25	28	16
Support at Election Time/ Service to Constituents	10	9	12
Build Up Credit/Further Access to Information	6	6	4
Other	18	14	32

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 62

WHEN LEGISLATORS SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED WITH THEIR PARTY*

Circumstances When Legislator Does Not Vote With Party	TOTAL (N=104)	ASSEMBLY (N=79)	SENATE (N=25)
Never or Infrequently	3%	1%	8%
Dictates of the Conscience	55	44	52
Conflicts With District Interests	59	61	52
Not a Party Bill	16	16	16
Your Vote is Not Needed or it is Released	2	-	8
Other	11	13	4

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 63

EDUCATION AND PARTY POSITION

Are Conditions About the Same When Dealing With Education?	TOTAL (N=107)	ASSEMBLY (N=82)	SENATE (N=25)
Yes	78%	78%	76%
No	22	22	24
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 64

Why Conditions Vary With Educational Legislation

If Conditions Vary With Educational Legislation What Are They?	TOTAL (N=33)	ASSEMBLY (N=23)	SENATE (N=10)
Same as Q.37b Response Items	12%	17%	-%
Education Affects More People - Very Important Issue	12	4	30
Education is A-Political (Non-Partisan)	39	39	40
More Money Involved	9	9	10
Other	39	48	20

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 65

MAJOR ISSUES BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE*

Two Most Crucial Issues Before this Session of Legislature	TOTAL (N=112)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SEANTE (N=27)
Decentralization of School Districts	56%	56%	56%
Abortion	10	9	11
Budgetary Considerations	76	74	81
Public Employee Matters (Taylor Law)	23	25	19
Social Welfare	6	7	4
State Aid for Education	13	13	11
Campus Unrest	1	1	-
Other	10	9	13

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 66

MOST POWERFUL INTEREST GROUPS IN NEW YORK STATE*

Three Most Powerful Interest Groups in NYS	TOTAL (N=105)	ASSEMBLY (N=83)	SENATE (N=22)
Labor	79%	80%	77%
Business (Industry and Commerce)	19	18	23
Education	34	33	41
Civic Groups	6	5	9
Welfare	2	-	9
Civil Service	26	27	18
Agriculture (Includes Grange)	2	2	-
Conservation	7	8	-
Civil Liberties	-	-	-
Health	1	1	-
Transportation	-	-	-
Governmental	1	-	5
Professional	-	-	-
Banking, Finance, Insurance	32	29	45

Three Most Powerful Interest Groups in NYS	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Utilities	8%	5%	18%
Mass Media	2	1	5
Religious	10	10	9
Other	16	17	14

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 67

LEGISLATORS' CONSIDERATION OF INTEREST GROUPS

Consideration Legislator Gives to Interest Groups Before Voting on Bills	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=84)	SENATE (N=26)
Great Deal	10%	11%	8%
Some Attention Along With Other Factors	71	73	65
Little of None at All	18	15	27
Other	1	1	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 68

INFLUENCE BASES OF INTEREST GROUPS*

Underlying Power of Interest Groups	TOTAL (N=99)	ASSEMBLY (N=78)	SENATE (N=21)
Overlapping Memberships/ Member Biases (Legislator/ Lobby, Agree With Positions Interest Group Takes	9%	10%	5%
Size (Voting Strength)	62	65	57
Interest Group Election Campaign Activity	14	13	19
Effective Propoganda/ Initiative in State/Use of Media	25	24	29
Money	29	29	29
Good Organization/Good Lobbying	20	23	10
Knowledge, Expertise, Status	17	19	10
Other	7	5	14

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 69

LEGISLATORS AND THE GOVERNOR

Consideration Given Governor in Deciding to Vote on Bills	TOTAL (N=111)	ASSEMBLY (N=84)	SENATE (N=27)
Great Deal	14%	10%	26%
Some Attention Along With Other Factors	42	46	30
Little or None at All	41	43	37
Other	3	1	7
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 70

THE GOVERNOR'S INFLUENCE BASES*

Reasons for Governor's Influence Over Legislature	TOTAL (N=107)	ASSEMBLY (N=81)	SENATE (N=26)
State-Wide Officer (Constituency)	21%	23%	12%
Personal Attributes (Ideology) of Governor	16	15	12
Leader of Exec. Bureaucracy/ Knowledge/Expertise/Information	24	23	27
Patronage	32	32	31
Veto Power	44	43	46
Executive Budget, Governor's Program	17	19	12
Relationship With Legislative/ Party Leadership	36	31	54
Legislative Initiative	6	5	8
Other	8	10	4

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 71

SOURCES OF CONFLICTS OF OPINION*

Conflicts of Opinion Sources in the Legislature	TOTAL (N=105)	ASSEMBLY (N=79)	SENATE (N=26)
Republicans vs. Democrats	67%	71%	54%
Governor's Supporters vs. His Opponents	30	29	31
Cities vs. Suburban and Rural Areas	59	56	69
Liberals vs. Conservatives	51	52	50
N.Y.C. vs. Upstate	72	75	65
Republicans vs. Democrats/ Governor's Supporters vs. His Opponents	1	-	4
Republicans vs. Democrats/ Liberals vs. Conservatives	-	-	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 72

SOURCES OF CONFLICTS OF OPINION IN EDUCATION*

Conflicts of Opinion Sources Regarding Education	TOTAL (N=91)	ASSEMBLY (N=67)	SENATE (N=24)
Republicans vs. Democrats	45%	46%	45%
Governor's Supporters vs. His Opponents	31	33	25
Cities vs. Suburban and Rural Areas	63	61	67
Liberals vs. Conservatives	49	51	46
N.Y.C. vs. Upstate	76	81	63
Republicans vs. Democrats/ Governor's Supporters vs. His Opponents	-	-	-
Republicans vs. Democrats/ Liberals vs. Conservatives	-	-	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 73

MAJOR EDUCATION ISSUES BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE*

Two Most Crucial Issues This Session in Education	TOTAL (N=109)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=24)
Decentralization NYC Schools, Teachers - Taylor Act and Salaries	9%	11%	4%
Budgetary Problems, Finance, School Aid	88	85	100
Administration of Education	2	2	-
Campus Disturbances (Unrest)	7	9	-
School Curriculum	-	-	-
N.Y.C Problems Generally	-	-	-
Bussing	2	2	-
State University System/CUNY	3	2	4
Aid to Parochial Schools	4	4	4
Urban Education	1	-	4
Decentralization	59	58	66
Other	8	11	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 74

WHY BUDGETING IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE*

Why is Budgeting Important?	TOTAL (N=90)	ASSEMBLY (N=66)	SENATE (N=24)
Lack of Funds	37%	38%	33%
Soaring Costs of Education (Salaries, Building, etc.)	23	21	29
Cutback Will Hurt Education	24	27	17
Unfair Formula	12	12	13
Pressure Group Demands	1	2	-
N.Y.C. Problems (Complexity and Size)	4	5	4
Taxpayer Problems	18	21	8
Local Areas Can't Raise Enough Funds	8	8	8
Other	22	15	42

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 75

WAYS IN WHICH LEGISLATORS WOULD SOLVE BUDGETARY PROBLEMS*

Solutions Legislators Favor for Budget Problems	TOTAL (N=74)	ASSEMBLY (N=61)	SENATE (N=13)
More State Aid (General, Sales Tax, Income Tax, Other)	31%	27%	46%
More Local Aid	5	7	-
More Federal Aid	7	8	-
Reduced Mandated Expenditures	7	8	-
Economize	26	25	31
Carry on Studies	3	2	8
Change the Formula	28	27	31
Don't Know	4	3	8

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 77

WAYS IN WHICH LEGISLATORS WOULD SOLVE DECENTRALIZATION PROBLEMS*

Solution Legislator Favors for Decentralization Problem	TOTAL (N=69)	ASSEMBLY (N=53)	SENATE (N=16)
Retain the Present System	4%	4%	6%
Modify the Present System	30	32	25
Gradual Decentralization	10	11	6
Complete Decentralization	16	11	31
Study the Problem	10	11	6
Don't Know	10	11	6

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 78

HOW DEMOCRATS VIEW FINANCING EDUCATION

Position of Democrats on Financing Education	TOTAL (N=96)	ASSEMBLY (N=73)	SENATE (N=23)
There is No Difference	12%	12%	9%
Greater State Financing With Taxes to Carry Out Formula Change	32	34	26
Greater State Financing Without Tax Increase	36	33	44
Same Financing as Now	4	6	-
Less Financing - Economize	1	1	-
More Emphasis on Cities Than Rural Areas	3	3	4
More Emphasis on Upstate Small Cities and Rural	-	-	-
More Emphasis on NYC Financing	3	3	4
Other	9	8	13
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 79

HOW REPUBLICANS VIEW FINANCING EDUCATION

Position of Republicans on Financing Education	TOTAL (N=91)	ASSEMBLY (N=68)	SENATE (N=23)
There is No Difference	12%	12%	13%
Greater State Financing With Taxes to Carry Out Formula Change	4	6	-
Greater State Financing Without Tax Increase	4	3	9
Same Financing as Now	9	7	13
Less Financing - Economize	29	28	30
More Emphasis on Cities Than Rural Areas	1	2	-
More Emphasis on Upstate Small Cities and Rural	6	7	-
More Emphasis on NYC Financing	-	-	-
Other	35	35	35
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 80

HOW RURAL MEMBERS VIEW FINANCING EDUCATION

Position of Rural Members on Financing Education	TOTAL (N=91)	ASSEMBLY (N=67)	SENATE (N=24)
No Differences	13%	15%	8%
More Emphasis on Cities	-	-	-
More Emphasis on Suburbs	-	-	-
More Emphasis on Rural Areas	8	4	17
Greater State Financing, Doesn't Mention Taxes	9	10	8
Greater State Financing Without Taxes	7	9	-
Same State Financing as Now	14	16	8
Less State Financing	25	21	38
Less State Financing for the "Other" Areas	6	6	8
Other	18	19	13
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 81

HOW SUBURBAN MEMBERS VIEW FINANCING EDUCATION

Position of Suburban Members on Financing Education	TOTAL (N=84)	ASSEMBLY (N=62)	SENATE (N=22)
No Differences	14%	14%	13%
More Emphasis on Cities	-	-	-
More Emphasis on Suburbs	8	5	18
More Emphasis on Rural Areas	-	-	-
Greater State Financing, Doesn't Mention Taxes	25	29	14
Greater State Financing Without Taxes	5	7	-
Same State Financing as Now	19	18	23
Less State Financing	5	-	18
Less State Financing for the "Other" Areas	6	6	5
Other	18	21	9
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 82

HOW URBAN MEMBERS VIEW FINANCING EDUCATION

Position of Urban Members on Financing Education	TOTAL (N=88)	ASSEMBLY (N=67)	SENATE (N=21)
No Differences	11%	12%	10%
More Emphasis on Cities	9	6	19
More Emphasis on Suburbs	1	2	-
More Emphasis on Rural Areas	-	-	-
Greater State Financing, Doesn't Mention Taxes	49	46	57
Greater State Financing Without Taxes	9	12	-
Same State Financing as Now	5	5	5
Less State Financing	1	1	-
Less State Financing for the "Other" Areas	1	1	-
Other	14	15	9
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 83

LEGISLATORS ARE CONTACTED BY CONSTITUENTS CONCERNING EDUCATION

Constituents Contact Legislator about Issues in Education	TOTAL (N=112)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=27)
Yes	87%	86%	89%
No	13	14	11
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 84

HOW LEGISLATORS' CONSTITUENTS VIEW STATE AID FOR EDUCATION

Legislator's Constituents on Level of State Aid for Schools	TOTAL (N=107)	ASSEMBLY (N=83)	SENATE (N=24)
Should be Increased	68%	66%	75%
Should Stay the Same	14	15	13
Should Stay the Same But Shift in Emphasis	1	1	-
Should be Decreased	6	7	-
Depends	7	6	12
Other	4	5	-
	100%	100%	100%

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TABLE 85

LEGISLATORS' CONSTITUENTS VIEWS CONCERNING WHERE ADDITIONAL AID FOR EDUCATION MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING

If Increase Not Possible Then What Source?	TOTAL (N=73)	ASSEMBLY (N=58)	SENATE (N=15)
Local and/or County	4%	3%	7%
Federal	6	5	7
Other	15	16	13
Local and/or County/ Federal	-	-	-
Local and/or County/ Other	-	-	-
Federal/Other	-	-	-
Local and/or County/ Federal/Other	-	-	-
Don't Know	75	76	73
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 86

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: EXPERTS IN THE LEGISLATURE

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Experts in Legislature	TOTAL (N=102)	ASSEMBLY (N=76)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	55%	57%	50%
Important	43	42	46
Unimportant	2	1	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 87

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: PARTY LEADERS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Advice of Party Leaders	TOTAL (N=103)	ASSEMBLY (N=77)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	6%	4%	12%
Important	56	62	38
Unimportant	38	34	50
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 88

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Education Interest Groups	TOTAL (N=103)	ASSEMBLY (N=77)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	25%	24%	31%
Important	61	66	46
Unimportant	14	10	23
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 89

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: CONSTITUENTS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of People in the District	TOTAL (N=103)	ASSEMBLY (N=77)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	48%	51%	39%
Important	46	44	50
Unimportant	6	5	11
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 90

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: EDUCATION COMMITTEE REPORTS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Education Committee Reports	TOTAL (N=102)	ASSEMBLY (N=76)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	39%	37%	46%
Important	54	54	54
Unimportant	7	9	-
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 91

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: OTHER LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Other Legislative Committee Reports	TOTAL (N=100)	ASSEMBLY (N=74)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	14%	12%	19%
Important	52	49	62
Unimportant	34	39	19
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 92

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: LEGISLATIVE STAFF OPINIONS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Legislative Staff Opinions	TOTAL (N=101)	ASSEMBLY (N=75)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	24%	21%	31%
Important	52	54	50
Unimportant	24	25	19
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 93

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: EDUCATORS IN THE DISTRICTS

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Educators Back Home	TOTAL (N=102)	ASSEMBLY (N=76)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	34%	32%	42%
Important	58	62	46
Unimportant	8	6	12
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 94

HOW LEGISLATORS ARE INFLUENCED ON THEIR VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION: EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT AGENCIES

Influence on Legislator's Views of Education of Views of Executive Dept. Agencies	TOTAL (N=102)	ASSEMBLY (N=76)	SENATE (N=26)
Very Important	8%	9%	4%
Important	66	62	77
Unimportant	26	29	19
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 95

AGENCIES WHICH ARE IMPORTANT INFLUENCES ON LEGISLATORS' VIEWS OF EDUCATION*

If Executive Agencies Listed as Very Important or Important - What Specifically?	TOTAL (N=72)	ASSEMBLY (N=53)	SENATE (N=19)
Regents/State Education Dept.	82%	77%	95%
Division of Budget	15	15	20
Governor's Office	4	6	-
Attorney General's Office	4	2	10
Taxation and Finance	4	6	-
Office of Planning Coordination	1	2	-
Controller	4	4	5
Other	15	17	10

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 96

COMMITTEES WHICH ARE IMPORTANT INFLUENCES ON LEGISLATORS' VIEWS OF EDUCATION*

If Other Committee Reports Listed as Very Important or Important - What Specifically?	TOTAL (N=54)	ASSEMBLY (N=37)	SENATE (N=17)
City or New York Cities	6%	3%	12%
Finance	4	-	12
Education	30	32	24
J.L.C. on Education	44	46	41
Labor	2	-	6
Ways and Means	19	27	-
All	7	5	12
Other	20	24	12

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 97

ADEQUACY OF INFORMATION IN THE LEGISLATURE

Information Source Adequacy in Legislature	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=85)	SENATE (N=25)
Yes - Adequate	61%	60%	64%
No - Not Adequate	39	40	36
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 98

HOW INFORMATION INADEQUACIES CAN BE ALLEVIATED*

What Should Be Done to Alleviate Inadequacies?	TOTAL (N=47)	ASSEMBLY (N=37)	SENATE (N=10)
More General Staff (Pool) Available to Legislators	43%	32%	80%
Special Education Staff Needed	17	19	10
Improve Legislative Reference Library	9	11	-
More Personal Staff	13	16	-
More Committee Staff	6	6	10
Improve Quality of Staff	11	14	-
Better and More Detailed Memos	4	6	-
Other	36	43	10

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 99

MOST POWERFUL EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS*

Three Most Powerful Education Interest Groups in New York State	TOTAL (N=103)	ASSEMBLY (N=81)	SENATE (N=22)
NYSTA (State Teachers Assoc.)	23%	21%	32%
NYSBA (State School Boards Assoc.)	26	27	23
UFT/EFT (Teachers Union)	54	56	50
PTA (Also Parents)	28	31	18
PEA (Public Education Assoc.)	2	2	-
CSDA (Administrators Assoc.)	2	2	-
NYSBO (School Business Advisors Assoc.)	-	-	-
UPA (United Parents - NYC)	16	14	23
CSEA (Civil Service)	2	2	-
NEA (National Education Assoc.)	3	4	-
Educational Conference Board	5	5	5
Big 6 City Districts	6	6	5
Education Department and/or Regents	20	20	23

Three Most Powerful Education Interest Groups in New York State	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Teachers and Related Professionals	21%	21%	23%
Citizens Groups (Civic)	2	2	-
Civil Rights Groups	1	1	-
Local School Boards and Administrators	13	11	18
Other	19	20	18
N.Y.C. Teachers	2	2	-
Foundations	-	-	-
Association of State Principals	2	2	-
Independent Administrators	1	1	-
Board of Higher Education	1	1	-
Western New York Study Council	1	1	1
Chancellors of Private Colleges	1	-	5
Chancellors of State Colleges	2	-	9
Taxpayers	1	1	-
League of Women Voters	1	1	-
Conf. of Boards of Higher Education	1	1	-
CUNY and/or SUNY	1	1	-

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 100

UNDERLYING POWER OF EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS*

What Underlies Power of Education Interest Groups?	TOTAL (N=97)	ASSEMBLY (N=75)	SENATE (N=22)
Overlapping Memberships, Member Biases (Legislator/ Lobby) Agree With Position Interest Group Takes	4%	5%	-%
Size (Voting Strength)	58	56	59
Interest Group Election Campaign Activities	5	5	5
Effective Propoganda/ Initiative In State/Use of Media	13	14	14
Money	6	7	5
Good Organization/Good Lobbying	27	28	23
Knowledge/Expertise/Status	45	45	45
Other	10	11	9

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 101

CONSIDERATION LEGISLATORS GIVE TO EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS BEFORE VOTING

Consideration Given to Education Interest Groups Before Voting	TOTAL (N=104)	ASSEMBLY (N=77)	SENATE (N=27)
Great Consideration	23%	26%	15%
Great Consideration Depending on Issues, Etc.	7	6	7
Some Consideration	49	51	44
Little or No Consideration	19	16	30
Other	2	1	4
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 102

OTHER INTEREST GROUPS TAKING STANDS ON EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION*

Statewide Interest Groups (Other Than Educators) Take Stands on Ed'l. Legislation	TOTAL (N=74)	ASSEMBLY (N=56)	SENATE (N=18)
Labor	23%	21%	28%
Business (Industry & Commerce)	7	7	6
Civic Groups	3	4	-
Social Welfare	1	2	-
Civil Service	1	2	-
Agriculture	-	-	-
Conservation	-	-	-
Civil Liberties	1	-	6
Health	1	2	-
Transportation	-	-	-
Governmental	-	-	-
Professional	-	-	-
Banking, Finance & Insurance	1	-	6
Utilities	-	-	-
Mass Media	-	-	-

Statewide Interest Groups (Other Than Educators) Take Stands on Ed'l. Legislation	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Religious	9%	11%	6%
Other	5	4	11
League of Women Voters	12	13	11
Assoc. of Industries	5	7	-
Council of Churches	11	9	16
Conf. of Mayors	1	2	-
Assoc. of Towns	-	-	-
American Jewish Congress	1	-	6
B'nai B'rith	3	2	6
Catholic	1	2	-
Farm Bureau	5	5	6
Citizens Union	3	4	-
Real Estate	1	-	6
Council of Towns and Villages	1	2	-
P.T.A. (Parents)	15	18	6
State Assoc. of Local School Boards	3	2	6
Citizens Committee	1	2	-
Conservative Party	4	5	-
AFL-CIO	5	5	6
Taxpayers Assoc.	3	4	-
Consumers Assoc.	1	2	-

Table 10 2

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Statewide Interest Groups (Other Than Educators) Take Stands on Ed'l. Legislation	TOTAL	ASSEMBLY	SENATE
Chamber of Commerce	8%	9%	6%
Civil Rights Groups	3	2	-
Citizens Tax League	3	1	6
Assoc. Industry	1	2	-
Citizens Expenditure Survey	11	14	-
State Teachers Assoc.	1	2	-
United Parents Assoc.	4	5	-
P. F. A.	-	-	-
Taxpayers (Small Town)	8	5	16
Local Governments	1	-	6
A. C. L. U.	3	4	-
Dormitory Authority	1	2	-
U. F. T.	-	-	-
N. Y. C.	1	2	-
C. O. S. T. (Taxpayers Assoc.)	1	2	-
None or Can't Say	4	4	6

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

TABLE 104

AFFECTS OF N.Y.C. ON THE WAY THE LEGISLATURE DEALS WITH EDUCATION

N.Y.C. Education Needs Affect Way Legislature Handles Education Bills	TOTAL (N=110)	ASSEMBLY (N=84)	SENATE (N=26)
Agree	88%	88%	85%
Disagree	12	12	15
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 103

POSITION NON-EDUCATION INTEREST GROUPS TAKE ON EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION

Position of Non-Education Interest Groups	TOTAL (N=62)	ASSEMBLY (N=47)	SENATE (N=15)
Favor	43%	34%	73%
Oppose	24	26	15
Split	33	40	12
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 105

HOW N.Y.C. AFFECTS THE WAY THE LEGISLATURE DEALS WITH EDUCATION*

How Differences Affect Legislative Process	TOTAL (N=96)	ASSEMBLY (N=73)	SENATE (N=23)
Due to Population Size and Concentration	9%	10%	9%
Due to Population Type (Other than Race)	15	16	9
Due to Race Problems	6	7	4
Special Education Needs	20	23	9
More Money Needs/Demands	27	27	26
Enormous Problems/ Complexity	21	22	17
NYC/Upstate Lack of Common Understanding	31	27	43
NYC Must Obtain Equal Treatment With Other Districts	5	5	4
Other/Don't Know	20	21	17

*Legislators gave multiple responses. Therefore columns do not total 100 per cent.

APPENDIX C

THREE RELATED PAPERS

STATE POLITICAL PROCESS CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL INTEREST GROUP POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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The research reported herein was performed under an institutional grant from the National Science Foundation through the Research Foundation of the State University of New York. Portions of the material were developed as background for project entitled "Educational Policy Making in New York State with Emphasis on the Role of the State Legislature", sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, R. E. Jennings and M. M. Milstein, Co-investigators.

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State Political Process Change
and Educational Interest Group Political Behavior

Purpose

The objective of the study was to determine the influences of changes over time in New York State political and legislative processes on the political behavior and strategies of education interest groups in seeking state policy change for education. As interest groups seek their objectives, they attempt to reduce the conflicts of party, legislature and governor within the legislative process on particular issues. This is a political problem and its nature changes with the structural and functional changes in the legislative process. As the frameworks change, the interest groups must redefine the problem and solve it through changes in their political behavior or cease to be effective.

Conceptual Frame

Politics is the key to understanding legislative process rather than the formalities of introducing, debating and deciding on legislation. The outcomes for the actors, their stake in the political system and their influence on each other often have greater meaning than the substance of the policies made. This is not as crass as it sounds as the result is the continuation of the process by which ideas eventually become part of the society's value system and traditions.

In legislative process, the resolution of conflict between party, governor, legislature are essential to its continuation. Illustrations follow. The legislator faces a conflict between party andconstituancy in considering issues. His constituancy returns him to office but the party supports him in his bid, partly on the basis of his embracing party ideologies. Parties generally do not, however, have any overarching structure on which the legislator is depender On the other hand, legislative parties rarely form party ideology. To the extent that party leaders within the process i.e., the legislative leadership and the governor, can impose party discipline, they can effectively reduce the legislator's conflict of party and constituancy within the legislative process. The opposite tack is also possible: harmonizing party objectives with many legislators' constituancies.

There is conflict between the governor and the legislature over the legislative program. The governor, in his legislative role, devises a program with a statewide constituancy in mind. At a number of points it may be at variance with the legislators' views of the needs of their constituants and thus a threat to their re-election. Imposing party discipline, either by through his own office or through the legislative leaders, can go far in putting his program into action. If within his program, however, he can accommodate the desires of many constituancies, conflict may also be reduced.

One means of enforcing discipline is through the dispensing of government jobs to loyal adherents and projects in areas of the state where the help of its legislator is needed. (The more colorful terms are patronage and pork.) The party and the governor are usually in conflict over who gets to dispense what. Obviously, the party, particularly the legislative branch, would like to be able to reward campaign workers and contributors to bolster the local bases. The governor would rather withhold these favors to utilize them for obtaining votes for his program in the legislature. Gaining control of the dispensing generally means gaining control of the party machinery. How judiciously the governor uses the kick of party caucus and the carrot of patronage for reducing conflict in the legislative process may determine the success of his program.

Turning to the interest groups, it has been pointed out that they basically seek access to government, to the legislative process, for the purpose of furthering their objectives. The most important point for any group is to gain access to persons or groups in government who have influence on others in government. Not only must those reached have respect for the interest group and its aims but they must also be able to convince others involved in the legislative process that appropriate action is neededs somewhat along the lines suggested by the interest group. To convince a respected legislator that his constituancy and others like it will benefit from the proposal is one example. Having a committee chairman favorably disposed to the group's ideas is another. Often, the head of an executive agency can be an influential voice with the governor. Thus, the interest group utilizes access to begin building consensus for its ideas among the actors in the legislative process.

The use of access points is tactical within the larger strategy of reducing conflict between party, legislature and governor. Strategy involves gaining allies among other organizations with similar objectives. It also means shaping the objectives to fit the kinds of access available.

There is a constant shifting, though, in the relationship between governor, party and legislature. Each would like to have greater control over the legislative process and each seeks ascendency over the other. As this occurs, the points of effective access change, move or close off to the interest groups. The imposition of party discipline on the legislature reduces the channels open to them through individual legislators. Access then must be made through the leadership. Where governors have achieved the means of taking legislative initiative, e.g., through the executive budget, and control of their executive departments, the office of the governor and the heads of departments become highly prized access points. A governor who has taken control of his party can close the local or state party offices as access points except he sees fit to maintain his own leadership.

In the politics of education, the education interest groups have the same task as any other interest group; finding ways of gaining consensus and building consent for their proposals within the legislative process. Effective access points must be found and utilized. The political strategy they employ is reflected in their political behavior and in the organizational structures they develop for the conduct of the strategy. Iannaconne's taxonomy notes the behaviors and types of organization developed to carry out the political strategy.

1. Entrepreneurial - Each of several organizations, coming off of its own local bases, plys its own avenues into the legislative process. Seldom do they act in concert and each part of this disparate structural type operates its strategy in terms of the access points it develops.

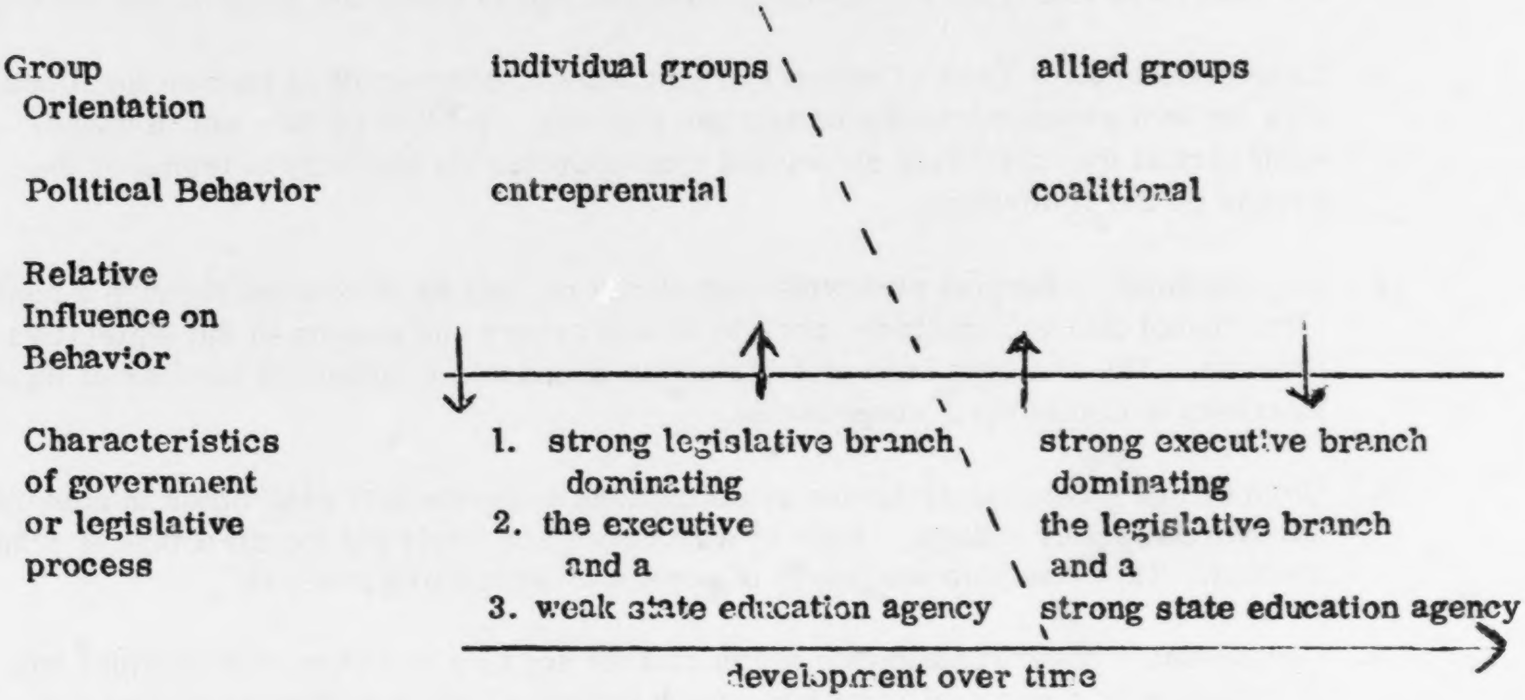
2. Co-optational - Several statewide organizations, acting in concert through a coaltion, often monolithic in structure, seek to co-opt actors and groups in the legislative process. The strategy is to embody within proposals a sufficient number of legislators interests to obtain their cooperation.

3. Competitive - Several statewide organizations compete with each other in seeking educational policy change. Each is well organized itself but the structure is fragmented. They compete too points of access to legislative process.

4. Coalitional - Several statewide organizations act as a coalition with distinct spheres of influence in a syndical structure which includes both the interest groups and elements of government in a formal arrangement.

He goes on to state: "If the larger political system is undergoing realignment, it is probable though not inevitable that so also will the politics of education move from ... one phase to the next." The lack of data, particularly on the interaction between the political behavior of each phase and political process changes in the state, prevented him from making a more definitive statement. It is precisely the influence of this interaction which now must be accounted for in the politics of education.

Conflict resulting from the changing relationships may, in part, produce the new or next phase of behavior. New points of access to governmental process may be needed and usual accesses may be utilized differently. New alliances may have to be formed and even the structure of the interest groups may change when there is political realignment in the state. A diagram of behavior over time may be as follows:


Group Orientation
individual groups
allied groups
Political Behavior
entreprenurial
coalitional
Relative Influence on Behavior
Characteristics of government or legislative process
1. strong legislative branch dominating
2. the executive and a
3. weak state education agency
strong executive branch dominating
the legislative branch
and a
strong state education agency
development over time

As Iannacone has stated,

> "The more specific mode for changing the pattern of educational politics ... is found in changes exisiting in the legislative process... the educational interest groups must fit the legislative process to be effective. This process is unlikely to change to fit the educationist organizational pattern."

This would seem to be true in New York State and with some interesting variations in the developmental pattern.

New York State as a Case

Using a series of instances, it is possible to trace the changes in the legislative processes in New York and observe the changes in the activities of the educational interest groups. Compressing many events and nearly half a century is not an easy task but doing so highlights what occurred in the larger picture without becoming lost in the myriad of legislative battles fought by the interest groups.

Between 1920 and 1930, the State Legislature was beginning to recover from the body blows it suffered in the scandals of the early 1900's. The discoveries of corruption and the self-seeking behaviors of machine politics operating through state legislators severely curtailed the peoples' confidence in the two houses. The governors of this period gained in strength. At first they used the power of oratory to gain public backing from a statewide constituancy although they were still constitutionally dominated by the legislature's control of both the minimal budget process and appropriation. Reforms came slowly but, by 1927, Governor Alfred E. Smith was able to achieve executive department reforms which made the agency heads, except in education, responsible to the Governor. He also instituted the executive budget to be submitted by the governor and obtained the line item veto. Being able to present a budget gave the governor legislative initiative: he could state the amounts needed to achieve the objectives of his programs. Legislative revisions upward meant that the legislators took the onus for new taxes. Revisions downward could mean a scorching public denouncement by the governor to the effect that his program for the people's good was scuttled by the legislature.

The Board of Regents, New York's unique, august public policy board for all education in the state, public and private, was beginning to reassert its power following the reorganization of educational government in 1904. Their paramount position atop the educational system, extensive regulatory powers and great prestige set them apart from politics. Yet, the Board was a political force in education by their very pronouncements on educational policy. The alliance of the Regents with rural Republican interests added to the aura of their power: a factor utilized in legislative activity by their staff, the State Education Department. In later years when political influence in terms of access and trade-offs had to be demonstrated, the ephymeral political power of the Regents faded.

The educational interest groups' political behaviors coincided well with the legislative process in this period. The basic behavior was entreprenurial focusing on individual legislators but there were increasing signs of co-optive behavior. The Council of City and Village Superintendents with the aid of the Association of Secondary School Principals plied legislators friendly to their interests on a local basis but did very little with statewide problems. The New York State Teachers Association (NYSTA) sought and obtained a state retirement system and the state first minimun salary law by the use of access to influential Senators and direct lobbying of other legislators. The Teachers Association also was moving toward a co-optational behavior.

On a number of statewide issues during these years, the Teachers Association sponsored joint meetings of the legislative committees of the several education groups with the objective of reaching blocs of legislators, particularly those with rural constituancies. To aid in these efforts, the prestige of the Regents was brought behind the proposals through the co-optation of the State Education Department. This device was often used to supplement the influence of the governor. This co-optive activity was reflected in the appointment of NYSTA's first executive secretary in 1923 and the man appointed was the former Administrative Deputy of the Commissioner of Education. Through efforts such as these two important measures for state school aid were passed: the Cole Rice bills in 1925 and the Friedsam formula in 1927.

By the mid-1930's, the situation had changed considerably. As the powers of the governor grew, the Legislature dominated by the majority party leadership and party discipline on both sides of the aisle was reasserted. Few legislators were independent enough to put constituancy before the wishes of the leaders on party measures. Thus, the access to the Legislature was reduced as control increased. The governors had learned to utilize the executive budget well to put their programs into operation. With tight party discipline enforced by the legislative leadership, the budget became a potent weapon. Going to the people with issues if the Legislature balked became a real threat to legislators when done by consumate politicians such as Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt -- even when the opposition party controlled the Legislature.

The Board of Regents' decline as a force took place in these years. Governors would call on them for advice when it suited their purpose but would ignore the Board if it didn't. The Regents had no way of gaining access politically even though they were, constitutionally, the governing body in education. In 1929, the Regents had moved to obtain greater political influence by an attempt to co-opt the educational interest groups through an organization called the Regents Joint Legislative Committee. This hope quickly faded when the Regents supported the Governor's call for a reduction in state aid in the depression year of 1931. The Teachers Association promptly withdrew its support of the coalition.

The educational interest groups maintained their access to the legislative process through rural legislators. Through these years the rural interests tended to prevail and elect the legislative leadership. Yet, the ability to affect educational legislation came more and more to mean obtaining input from the Governor either through congruency with his program or by his release of the leadership in the Legislature. Rarely was co-optation of legislators by itself effective.

The one major legislative achievement of the groups in this period came in 1934 when full state aid to schools under the Friedsam formula was preserved and future reductions during the depression years became less drastic than before. In this particular instance the groups, led by the Teachers Association and the New York State School Boards Association, managed to get Governor Herbert H. Lehman to ask for and follow the Regents' recommendation for full aid payment. Close cooperation with the State Education Department plus the ability of the groups to co-opt a number of rural legislators was the key to the victory.

The success was celebrated in the forming of the Educational Conference Board of New York State in September, 1934. Composed of the Teachers Association, School Boards Association, the Council of City and Village Superintendents, The Council of District Superintendents and the New York State Congress of Parents and Teachers, it would become known as the epitomy of educators organized for legislative activity in school finance at the state level. Characterized as a monolithic structure organized for co-optation of the legislature, it curiously enough never really co-opted the Legislature.

Thomas E. Dewey, elected Governor in 1942, realized fully the ability of the governor to control the legislative process. The term of office had been extended to four years in 1936 and, coupled with the executive budget and the line item veto, control was nearly complete. Going to the people was an accepted practice. The only loose ends were in matters of party. Dewey quickly moved to make the Republican Party in the State an extension of his office. All appointments all requests for public works had to be cleared through his close associates or himself. Effective access to the legislative process was almost totally controlled through the governor's office.

What this meant for the Educational Conference Board is clearly demonstrated in the state aid struggle of 1945. The Conference Board organizations quickly found that state aid to schools was the critical policy area on which they could agree and began a campaign for upward revision of the Friedsam formula in 1941. By 1945, the campaign had generated just enough pressure to bring Dewey to appoint a committee, the Feinberg Committee. He forced the Conference Board to deal with that group by bottling up the bills which were introduced by legislators friendly to the Board. The State Education Department supported the Board proposals before the Committee. The end result was a report by Feinberg accepting, in principle, the aid formula developed by the interest groups. Dewey acknowledged the contributions of the Conference Board when he signed the bill produced by the Committee but proceeded to allot state aid at less than the formula amounts.

The Conference Board had learned that their efforts must be directed at co-opting the governor's committees rather than trying to co-opt the Legislature. Access at other points was ineffective or simply closed. But even this turn of strategy would come to be ineffective.

In 1961-62, the Diefendorf Committee, appointed by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, sought to simplify the aid formulas of the 1940's which had become encrusted with special provisions and variances as the state attempted to keep up with rising school costs. The Conference Board moved immediately to co-opt the Committee as it had done with previous committees. However, the strategy did not work for two reasons: first, the provisions sought by the Board seemed to open the State treasury to a raid by schoolmen essentially by-passing the Legislature, and second, the lobbying of the Conference Board was exposed by the press. The Legislature did vote more aid in 1962; more than recommended by the Committee, but the complete revised formula was not adopted. Insofar as the achieving policy change may be considered the objective of the educators groups, the effort in 1962 was less than successful.

Between 1962 and 1969, Rockefeller further tightened his grip on the legislative process, keeping conflict with the Legislature at a minimum through careful tailoring of his programs to undercut the opposition. This, plus judicious use of patronage and public works, permitted him to get his program through intact even in the two years in which the opposition party controlled the Legislature. The Governor's control of his own party was such that he could impose cutbacks in state programs in the years when he did not want to seek new taxes. No real revolutions were started in the Legislature as party leaders at the district level worked with the Governor to keep legislators in line.

In addition, the Office of the Governor was expanded for the purpose of bringing potential issues to the attention of the chief executive before they became openly troublesome. Throug his Secretary, his counsels and the program associates responsible for the several major areas of government, such as labor, business, welfare and education, problem solutions were put into his program or, if appropriate, solved through casework by his staff. A third strategy was to send the problem to the appropriate department or committee with orders to solve it. In the usual division of spheres, problems with sensitive political implications we kept close to the Office of the Governor, more administrative ones went to the agencies.

The Educational Conference Board came to realize what had happened to their co-optational strategy when they sought to fight the Governor on his cutbacks for education in 1969. As part of an overall retrenchment in state expenditures Rockefeller imposed a 5 per cent across the board reduction and went all out to get it passed. Education suffered only a 3 per cent effective reduction due to the fact that school aid is paid on the school year in two halves of two state fiscal years. The really hurtful part for schoolmen, however, were the proposed changes in parts of the aid formula and special aid measures. These would result in less aid in successive years, not just 1969-70. Ostensibly, the Governor told the educational interest groups that they could have full aid if they could convince the Legislature. They could not as it meant a rise in state taxes would have to be voted. The educators were forced to witness the bankruptcy of the co-optational strategy as their legislative friend, the Chairman of the Senate Education Committee, led the floor debate for the Governor's proposed aid changes.

Conclusions

The examination of the legislative process and the political behavior of the educational interest groups in New York State has dealt with the ability of the groups to bring about reductions in conflict between legislature, governor and party for attaining policy change. The use of access points to the process by the groups and the control of access by the actors and groups within government was a central concept.

Results indicate that the rise of a strong governorship, dominating the legislature, reduced conflict in the legislative process. Party discipline was enforced in the legislature particularly as the governor obtained new powers, such as the executive budget, which put legislative initiative in his hands. Later, as the governor was able to take control of his own political party and integrate it into his role as the developer of statewide programs, conflict with party practically disappeared. Finally, the office of the governor increasing began to reach out for problems and assign them for solution before they reached a stage of severe political repercussion. All of these developments reduced the number of effective points of access to the legislative process.

Co-optive political strategy, developed earlier by the educational interest groups for influencing a more co-equal legislature in the matter of state aid, was then utilized to induce the governor to modify his policy proposals. Basically, the groups attempted to generate pressure from local jurisdictions and through the legislative leadership so that the governor would either modify his program or establish a committee to examine the problem. The education coalition would then try to co-opt the committee, knowing that the governor would be identified with its report. Thus, the committees became the effective access point for a co-optive strategy. This approach, too, had its limitations. The governor by simply selecting or electing to deal in dollar amounts for the given year instead of adopting propose formula changes, put the groups in the position of having to renew their legislative effort each year.

Major changes in educational policy for the state, particularly in finance, must now be proposed or have endorsement through the governor's office. The structural and functional framework of the legislative process has been changed in such a manner that other access points are relatively ineffective. Co-optation, as practiced by the educational interest gro may have run its course.

Implications

The paper has handled only a few variables in the larger picture of public policy-making for education. Other forces are at work changing that picture including collective negotiati the rise of teachers' militancy, incipient dissatisfaction with the schools among several socio-economic groups. There are indications that these are contributing to the slow break down of the Conference Board coalition as much as its inability to change its political behavior to meet the changes in legislative process. If the education groups cannot become more effective in the policy change process these other variables will hasten the fragmentation of the coalition and result in the competitive behavior of such a structure as Iannaccone indicates. If the governor cannot maintain the tight control he has now over the legislative process, that is, if legislators or party leaders break away to seek greater political results for themselves in education issues, fragmentation and competition may again result if each interest group believes that it can satisfy its objectives through newly opened access points. The first is a possibility; the second is doubtful especially if Rockefeller is returned for a fourth term.

A more likely change is to some syndical form as in Iannaccone's taxonomy. The legislative process is such now that a permanent study and recommending group for a number of education issues, composed of legislators, education department officials, interest group people and representatives of the governor's office could provide the governor with an ideal extension of the control he now has. The political behavior could be coalitional as Iannaconne indicates or it could become co-optive. The coalitional behavior would come about if the governor maintains control over the issues which it would handle. If only specific, designated issues in educational policy went into this study group, i.e., finance, control might effectively be removed from the governor and into the legislature through the group.

There are two roadblocks to this development: New York City and the Regents. The City's special interests and Regents positions in the state's education of governance cannot be pushed aside. What accommodations can be made for them is difficult to say but their interests would certainly have to be represented more than minimally.

Finally, I would not be greatly surprised if the State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, (the Fleischmann Commission) recommended a syndical structure as a way of balancing the interests of the people, the

the State, the Legislature and the education groups. The developing battle for state aid in 1971 is already pointing up some yearning for instrumentalities, other than those subject to "political vagaries", to recommend state policy changes in education.

R. E. Jennings
1/20/71

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKING IN NEW YORK STATE: SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ADVICE USED BY LEGISLATORS

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKING IN NEW YORK STATE: SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ADVICE USED BY LEGISLATORS

Introduction

The data reported here constitute one aspect of a major study being conducted by the authors under the auspices of an Office of Education Grant*. The purpose of the larger study is to analyze the process of educational policy making in New York State. Its focus is on the role of the formal governmental structure, and in particular, the state legislature. The research, begun in September, 1968, will be completed in June, 1970. Methodological procedures included document analysis, focused interviews with key actors (both inside and outside of government) and a comprehensive survey of members of the 1969 New York State Legislature. The survey is the source of the data to be discussed in the paper which includes the responses of 115 Legislators, 89 Assemblymen and 26 Senators.

The specific problem under examination concerns the sources of information and advice available to legislators as they establish educational policy for the state's public school systems. That is, what sources of information and advice provide the bases upon which legislators act in developing and debating proposals and, in the end, vote on education bills. The potential sources of information are enormous, varying from educational and lay leaders in legislators' districts, special interest groups, both statewide and local, to a myriad of sources within the executive and legislative branches of government. From this smörgasbord of information, ranging from doubtful to highly reliable, the legislator chooses those on which he will rely as bases for judgments concerning education legislation. In the conduct of the study, it was necessary to identify and categorize the sources relied upon and those which did not appear to influence legislators to any large degree.

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* "Educational Policy Making in New York State with Emphasis on the Role of the State Legislature", USOE Small Grants Program, Project #9-8-030, Co-investigators: Robert E. Jennings and Mike M. Milstein; Project Director: Robert E. Jennings.

Little is available in the literature to be of comparative value for the problem. Published empirical studies relating to state level educational policy making are few. Three in particular (Bailey, et. al., 1962; Usdan, 1963; and Masters, et. al., 1964) have been most frequently referred to by students of educational governance. Bailey and Usdan focused on the role of education interest groups. Masters' work had the same focus but did report on the role of formal governments to some extent. More relevant is Wahlke, et. al. (1962) which explored the dynamics of legislative behavior in several states. This pioneering work explored role definitions and authority structures in legislative bodies; an endeavor which earlier formalistic, institution-bound political scientists had not pursued. As a result of Wahlke's efforts, attention has been shifted from examination of institutions operating under formal rules to an effort to understand the interpersonal dynamics of the actors involved in the policy making process.

The Wahlke team examined education as one of several policy making areas (see Ferguson, 1960 for more detail on the education portion). The methodology and results of the study have been useful to the present investigators both for instrumentation and comparability.

The remainder of the paper will: 1) review the setting of the study, the New York State Legislature; 2) present data and findings related to information and advice sources available to legislators in educational policy making; and 3) present some conclusions and implications of the study.

The Setting for the Study

The New York State Legislature consists of two houses, the Senate and the Assembly. There are 57 Senators and 150 Assemblymen. All members of both houses are elected in the even year for two year terms. In the 1969 Legislature, the Republicans held 33 Senate seats and the Democrats 24. In the Assembly, the Republicans were also in the majority with 78 seats to the Democrats 72 seats.

The majority party in each house organizes the house. That is, it elects the presiding officer, the President Pro Tem in the Senate and the Speaker in the Assembly. Each, in turn, appoints from his own party, the committee chairmen and the majority of members on every committee of the house. In this way, the majority party is in a position to dominate the legislative process. The minority party in each house organizes itself for opposition by selecting a minority leader.

The manner in which each house operates differs slightly. The Assembly is usually dominated by the Speaker's control of proposed legislation,agenda and debate. Party solidarity is enforced on both sides of the aisle in the face of this power. Perhaps because of these controls, assemblymen do not seem to develop a rash independence. The relatively small size of the districts which they represent may also have a bearing, as the base for their election is somewhat restricted. The senator, with his larger constituency, has more interests to balance but a larger base on which to do it. Alienation of a group or two probably won't bring about his defeat. The senate leadership recognizes the relative independence of the individual senator; therefore, while the leaders have the power of control, they use it sparingly. The Senate, then takes on the air of a club where each member has privileges which other members, including the leaders, respect.

There are a number of information sources in the legislature. The leaders have several counsels each to aid them on legislative matters. Under the committee system, counsels and staff members are assigned to gather information for examining bills. Here control of the chamber is important as the majority party controls the bulk of funds allotted to committees for the hiring of staff. There are, in addition, three central legislative staffs. First, both Senate and Assembly members have use of a bill drafting service to aid them in the technicalities of writing proposed laws. Second, the 15 year old Legislative Research Service is available to members of both houses for locating extant information on topics as requested. While the service is allegedly bipartisan, there are some indications that it has been operated largely for the benefit of the Republican members of the Assembly. Finally, the Assembly has a Central Committee Staff which began operating in 1969. The staff aids members of committees by gathering information on request. In its operation the Central Staff has undertaken fairly extensive summarization and packaging of information in filling requests. While the staff is a creation of the majority, its services seem readily available to members of both parties.

There are other sources of information available outside of the legislature. The various executive agencies such as the Division of the Budget, the Departments of Commerce, Labor, Public Works and the State Education Department are all great gatherers of facts. Beyond this, there are the many interest groups which have information to offer on topics of concern to their membership. Lobbiests, or more politely, legislative representatives, spend a good deal of their time in efforts to communicate points of view and appropriate facts to legislators.

With some basic understanding of the legislature, the next task is to examine the information and advice sources used by legislators.

Data and Findings: Information and Advice Sources Available to Legislators in Policy Making Generally and in Educational Policy Making Specifically

Legislators were asked several questions which tested their perceptions of the availability and influence of information sources related to educational policy making.

The questions focused upon: 1) availability of information for studying the facts behind a bill; 2) deciding how to vote when there is little information available; and 3) ranking of sources as to their impact on legislator's subsequent policy making behavior. Three cross-correlations were made, isolating legislators by house, by political affiliation and by length of tenure in the legislature.

Availability of Information

Legislators were asked "What sources of information are available to you here in the legislature when you want to study the facts behind a bill?" The purposes of this open-ended question were to determine the sources and obtain indications of legislators' awareness of sources. In tabulating the responses by house and party affiliation, differences in party control and characteristics of the two houses were also sought.

TABLE 1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO NEW YORK LEGISLATORS: SENATE AND ASSEMBLY, BY PARTY

ITEM	SENATE		ASSEMBLY	
	Republican (N=12) %	Democrat (N=14) %	Republican (N=43) %	Democrat (N=46) %
little or none available			2	7
centralized legislative research office or staff	67	57	70	50
counsels, legislative staff committee reports			2	2
other members				
sponsor and bill memorandum	25	7	12	9
personal research, own staff		7		4
the leadership				4
mass media				4
interest groups, lobbies		14	7	9
executive agencies	8			9
other, not specified		14		
no response			7	2

Clearly, members of both houses and parties were well aware of the centralized legislative research services as information sources. For the assemblymen, 70 per cent of the Republicans and 50 per cent of the Democrats sampled cited centralized services. The next preference was the sponsor of the bill and the bill memorandum prepared by the sponsor. Some 12 per cent of the Republicans and 9 per cent of the Democrats indicated this source. Executive agencies and interest groups were not readily thought of as sources of facts about bills. Nor did many assemblymen think of the house leadership when they want to study the facts.

In the Senate, the centralized staffs were again highly recognized with 67 per cent of the Republicans and 57 per cent of the Democrats indicating them as sources of facts. Seeing the sponsor and reading the bill memorandum was the second choice of sources. The reader should note the almost complete absence of reference to interest groups.

The next question, "How do you decide which way to vote if you have little knowledge about a bill and information doesn't seem to be available?" was designed to: 1) locate sources of advice, and 2) the legislators' awareness of these sources. Tabulating the results by house and party affiliation, the authors sought the differences by party control and the characteristics of the two houses.

TABLE 2

SOURCES OF ADVICE FOR NEW YORK LEGISLATORS: SENATE AND ASSEMBLY BY PARTY

ITEM	SENATE		ASSEMBLY	
	Republican (N=12) %	Democrat (N=14) %	Republican (N=43) %	Democrat (N=46) %
does not occur, there is always information	17	36	7	13
see the sponsor, read the memorandum		21	14	22
talk to friends in the legislature	17	7	21	20
see the committee chairman or members	25		5	2
turn to the leadership			2	4
see legislative experts in that field		14	9	4
listen to the debate on the floor		15	16	22
call the interest groups				
call on executive agency				
use my own judgment	8		9	11
don't vote	8		5	
other	8			
no response	17	7		2

Results indicate that assemblymen preferred to see the sponsor or talk to friends in the legislature about the bill when information did not seem available. Surprisingly, listening to the floor debate was also rated high as a means of deciding. Equally surprising was the fact that few assemblymen turned to the committee chairmen and members who had reported the bill to the floor. This held true even for the majority Republicans who controlled the committees. Nor was the leadership sought out as a source of advice. It is important to note that a number of respondents indicated that this situation does not occur: there is always information.

Senators grouped more by parties in their replies to the question. The Republicans, who controlled the Senate, preferred to see committee chairmen and members or talk to friends, 25 per cent of them indicating the first and 17 per cent the latter. Democrats indicated a preference for seeing the sponsor or talking to the legislative experts* in that field with 21 per cent choosing the former and 14 per cent the latter. Over a third of the Democrats indicated that'there is always information". There was also some reliance on the floor debate with 15 per cent of the Democrats choosing that means of deciding.

Finally, legislators were asked if the sources of information in the legislature were adequate. Of Republican senators responding, 75 per cent said yes. Among the Democrats, 57 per cent said yes. Republican assemblymen agreed with their Senate counterparts while only 44 per cent of the Democrats said the information sources were adequate.

In summary, house and party seem to have bearing on the legislators' sources of information and advice. In both the Senate and the Assembly there was heavy reliance on centralized legislative staffs as information sources. The sponsor of any particular bill became a resource person about his bill in the eyes of the other legislators, but committees and committee reports were not seen as information sources by legislators except by the Republican senators who find committee members helpful when there seems to be little information. The leadership in both houses and the interest groups are not favored as sources of facts behind bills.

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* Each legislator was asked to name the areas of legislation which he felt most knowledgeable about. By self-nomination, 10 Senators and 27 Assemblymen considered themselves knowledgeable in education. Following Wahlke, these became the legislative experts. See page 12 for further information on these experts.

Shifting from the general to the specific, the next area examined was the sources of influence on legislators' views of education matters.

Sources of Influence on Legislators' Views of Educational Legislation

From a list of nine items, legislators were asked to rank as very important, important, unimportant the ones which lead them to see education issues as they do. The items ranged from the views of legislative experts to educators back home and from advice of party leaders to word from the people in the district. Responses to each item were tabulated by house and party affiliation.

TABLE 3

SELECTED SOURCES AS INFLUENCES ON LEGISLATORS' VIEWS OF EDUCATION IN NEW YORK: SENATE AND ASSEMBLY BY PARTY

ITEM	SENATE		ASSEMBLY	
	Republican (N=14) %	Democrat (N=12) %	Republican (N=43) %	Democrat (N=46) %
views of experts in legislature	100	85	65	83
advice of party leaders	42	50	46	63
education interest groups	100	43	65	87
word from people in my district	92	79	77	85
reports of the education committee	100	86	75	80
other legislative committee reports	91	65	62	50
legislative staff opinions	75	79	63	64
educators back home	92	79	77	83
views of executive agencies	91	64	53	65

* Percentages reported are for sources rated "important" and "very important".

The most important sources of influence on legislators' views about education issues were educators back home and the people in the district. 92 per cent of the Republican senators rated educators back home important or very important and 77 per cent of the Republican assemblymen did the same. A preponderance of Democrats in both houses also rated this item high as a source of influence. On the second item, the people in the district, senators of both parties gave it high rating. Of the Republicans, 42 per cent said it was very important and 50 per cent of the Democrats rated it that way. In the Assembly, the total percentages were 77 per cent of the Republicans and 85 per cent of the Democrats rating the people in the district as important or very important.

The views of legislative experts were rated very important by two-thirds of the Republican senators and half of the Democrats. In the Assembly, 65 per cent of the Republicans rated experts' views important or very important. The percentage was higher, 85%, among Democrats.

A few words about the self-nominated experts, compared to other members, seems to be in order here. Were there differences in the influences on views of education between the experts and other members? The sources may not make the experts but the experts may be more finely attuned to the sources and more selective in what influences them.

Senate experts present a clear picture of selectivity in what influences their views. The executive agencies were rated very important by 90 per cent of the experts compared to 56 per cent of the other members. Reports of the education committee were rated very important by 70 per cent of the experts. Only 20 per cent of the experts rated word from people in the district as very important while 63 per cent of the other members rated it that way. Only 30 per cent of the experts rated the education interest groups as very important influences compared to 44 per cent of the other members. Half of the experts rated the advice of experts very important.

In the Assembly, the comparisons were not as clear. Only 37 per cent of the lower house experts rated the advice of party leaders as very important compared to 58 per cent of their colleagues. Only 22 per cent of the experts rated their fellow experts as very important influences while 42 per cent of the other members rated experts that way. Beyond these items, experts' ratings closely match the ratings of the other members. Perhaps the only thing that can be said is that the experts in the Assembly seemed to know what not to listen to. This in itself helps reduce the noise level.

Reports of the education committee came out rather high on the importance scale as influences on legislators' views on education. In the Senate, 83 per cent of the Democrats and 100 per cent of the Republicans rated it as important or very important. In the Assembly, the percentages, by party, were 80 per cent and 75 per cent, respectively. These results stand in sharp contrast to the responses on the two previous questions where committee members and chairmen were not thought of as sources of information and advice.

Finally, the leadership in both houses was not seen to be important influences on legislators' view of education issues. This was fairly consistent with the responses on the two earlier questions.

Sources of Influence on Legislators' Views and Length of Legislative Service

When the ratings of the same nine items were tabulated by house and total length of legislative service, it appears that there are some differences in the importance of various sources of influence on a legislator's views.

TABLE 4

SELECTED SOURCES AS INFLUENCES ON LEGISLATORS' VIEWS OF EDUCATION IN NEW YORK: SENATE AND ASSEMBLY BY YEARS OF LEGISLATIVE SERVICE*

ITEM	SENATE				ASSEMBLY			
	0-2 yrs. (N=5) %	2-4 yrs. (N=8) %	4-6 yrs. (N=0) %	6+ yrs. (N=12) %	0-2 yrs. (N=34) %	2-4 yrs. (N=27) %	4-6 yrs. (N=5) %	6+ yrs (N=23) %
views of experts in the legislature	80	100	--	92	83	85	100	80
advice of party leaders	60	50	--	41	44	59	60	65
education interest groups	80	38	--	74	69	85	60	66
reports of the education comm.	100	100	--	92	70	85	60	72
educators back home	100	86	--	83	89	89	60	74

* Percentages reported are for sources rated "Important" and "very important".

For example, 80 per cent of the senators with two years or less of legislative service rated the views of legislative experts as important or very important while 92 per cent of those with six or more years of service rated the experts' views important or very important. The advice of the party leadership declines with length of service for senators from 60 per cent among the newer members to 38 per cent among those with six or more years in the legislature. Almost the reverse is true for assemblymen. Only 44 per cent of the newer members rate their influence as very important. The influence of the education interest groups tends to remain fairly constant in importance for the several categories of length of service in both houses. The influence of the education committee remains high with senators, regardless of the years of service but, in the Assembly, the education committee declines from a very important influence among 53 per cent of the newer members to only 35 per cent of those members with six or more years of service. Finally, the views of educators back home declines slightly in importance among senators the longer they serve. This same item remains almost constant for assemblymen regardless of years of service.

To summarize, the important sources of influence on legislators' views of education matters seem to be educators back home and the people of the district. The next most important sources are the experts and the education committees in each house. Party leaders rated consistently lower while the education interest groups were rated important by the Republican senators and Democratic assemblymen. Length of legislative service had a bearing on the importance ratings. In both houses, the influence of educators back home declined slightly among the senior members while legislative experts rose in importance for this group. In the Senate, the education committee remained important regardless of years of service while the influence of the leaders declined. The leaders in Assembly became more important the longer the member served.

Conclusions

The data indicate that there are many sources of information and advice available to New York State legislators. However, who uses what sources seems to vary with house and party affiliation. The importance of sources of influence on legislators' views in education matters does not differ greatly between the two houses. There are a few differences in influence sources which may reflect the majority position of one party.

Sources of information and advice are concentrated within the legislature: its centralized research services and the sponsors of bills. When little information seems available, both senators and assemblymen prefer to talk to their friends, see the sponsor of a bill or listen to the floor debate to help them make a decision. Senators, particularly

Republican senators (the majority) tend to look to the committees for advice more than do assemblymen. Democrats in both houses seem to utilize more sources than do the Republicans. Perhaps this is due their minority position which may deny them full access to sources. This bears more investigation as information control could be a dominant factor in the policy making process.

There is a distinct shift to outside sources when questions specified the importance of influences on legislators' views of education matters. Members of both houses rated the educators back home and the people of the district as most important. Clearly, education still carries a strong element of local input for the policy process.

Within the legislature, the sources of influence on views differ from the sources of information and advice. The legislative experts in education become an important influence. So does the education committee in each house. The self-nominated experts seemed to have some measure of selectivity about the sources of influence which shape their views. This is particularly evident among the Senate experts. The committees, almost scorned as information sources, become important perhaps because they have weighed the evidence or have some measure of selectivity similar to the experts.

Senators reflect the greater independence from the leadership and regard for the work and views of their colleagues. Seeing friends, bill sponsors, relying on the committees and the experts all seem to reinforce the notion of a club atmosphere. Assemblymen, on the other hand, regard the leadership's influence more important the longer they have served (but still not as important as other sources). Experts in the Assembly are not as important as influence sources as they are for Senators.

Three items stand out in the data by lack of greater mention. First, the relative unimportance of the leadership as a source of influence on views, already mentioned.

Second, the executive agencies were not perceived as sources of facts and their rating as important influence sources was limited to Republican senators. Third, the education interest groups were virtually by-passed as sources of facts and influence: half of the Republican senators and half of the Democratic assemblymen rated them as important in their influence.

Implications for Educators

These initial finds indicate that New York State legislators may not be as open to the blandishments of the education interest groups as they were in the past. One of the basic strategies of the educational interest groups is to reach the leadership and the education committees with the message of school needs. In this effort, the reinforcement from the State Education Department has often been a help. The present weakness of this approach applied to both houses and parties is obvious.

Another strategy of the interest groups is to get local schoolmen to tell their needs to their legislators. Often this approach is accompanied by local efforts to rouse public opinion behind the school story. Judged by the data, this would seem to be the better of the two strategies.

If information, in the form of facts, is important to legislators (and it seems to be), then educators had best find ways of getting the facts they have gathered into the legislature's information net. The fact sources for members are concentrated within the legislature; in central staffs, bill sponsors and the experts. The sponsors of legislation and experts can be supplied, in part, by the second strategy indicated above. Becoming a supplier to a central research service will require finding out where they gather their facts.

The selectivity of legislators, particularly the experts, in choosing their sources presents another kind of problem: What is the basis of the selectivity? Being one source among many available, how do the educators become selected? Hopefully, the larger study from which this paper is drawn will provide an answer.

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Perceptions of the Educational Policy-Making Process in New York State: Educational Interest Group Leaders and State Legislators

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Perceptions of the Educational Policy-Making Process in New York State: Educational Interest Group Leaders and State Legislators

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Introduction*

As the states increase their support of public education, educational interest groups (i.e., administrator organizations, school board organizations, teacher organizations, and various education-related citizens' organizations) increase their state-level activities. These groups clamor for education's "fair share" of state resources. At the same time, many state legislatures and executives have lately begun to reshape their roles in educational policy making, moving from passive reaction to active participation. They are increasingly taking on specialized staff personnel who scrutinize legislative requests and occasionally develop original legislative proposals. Such concern for the policy-making initiative, noted as early as 1960 in California (Iannaccone, 1967) is beginning to be felt in other states.

Educational interest groups in the past have generally been able to impress state legislatures of the special nature of education. Today, they find these bodies less receptive to their demands. The increasing responsibility of state governments, in an ever-broadening definition of public responsibility, for "soft areas" such as medical care, unemployment insurance and other social welfare programs has had an affect upon the support of public education. There are already indications of increasing competition for the public dollar, requiring educators to devise new tactics at the state level.

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*The data reported here constitute finding from a major study being conducted under the auspices of an Office of Education Grant. "Educational Policy Making in New York State with Emphasis on the Role of the State Legislature," USOE Small Grants Program, Project #9-8-030, Co-Investigators: Robert E. Jennings and Mike M. Milstein.

The Study

The major purpose of the present research was to analyze the process of educational policy-making in New York State. The focus was upon the role of the formal governmental structure and, in particular, on the role of the state legislature. How that role is perceived by legislators and by interest group officials set the parameters and methodological procedures for the study.

The New York State Legislature is constitutionally responsible for education in the state. In the period since World War II, it has come to interpret this responsibility quite broadly. Totaling $115,774,000 in 1940, the state's support of education is estimated to be $2,665,000,000 in 1970 (N.Y. State Statistical Year Book, 1968-69). The rapidly increasing financial input has propelled education into a central and continuing issue area in the policy-making process.

At the same time that educational interest groups have focused their efforts at the state level, formal governmental agencies have come to interpret their own roles in educational decision making as activist in nature. Therefore, the study explored the relationships between the interest groups and the formal governmental agencies from the vantage point of the policy-making process within the governmental structure. This is a rather unique focus for studies dealing with educational policy-making at the state level.*

The policy-making process can be conceived of as a system in which individuals, groups and organizations compete for the allocation of scarce resources. For purposes of the study, individuals, groups and organizations can be thought of as involved in the policy-making system when their actions are directly related to the process of educational decision making at the state level.

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*Bailey et. al. (1962), Masters, et. al. (1964) are major studies dealing with state level educational policy-making. These studies focused on the educational interest groups, not the legislative process.

Include in the analysis of educational policy-making are formal governmental organizations, the many agencies and officers who act in their behalf and the interest groups who interact with them when educational policy-making is in process. For example, educational administrators become part of the system when their activities are focused on affecting educational policy-making at the state level. Taxpayers' associations become part of the system when they are involved in influencing the formal government on school related matters. The state legislature and the governor's office are components of the system when their activities have implications for the organization and support of education in the state.

Four research methods were employed: documentary search, unstructured interviews, structured interviews and depth-surveys. Documentary searches were carried out to help the researchers identify critical processes and actors involved in educational policy-making. Documents explored included political party platforms, legislative committee reports, legislative regulations and by-laws, resolutions, public statements, proposed legislation, memorandums, hearings transcripts and interest group publications. Documentary searches were continued through the course of the study to verify, modify and otherwise help shape the analysis.

Unstructured interviews were then pursued with these actors, both within the formal governmental structure and among the interest group leadership, who the documentary searches identified as critical persons in the policy-making process. These interviews expanded upon the knowledge gained in documentary searches and further helped to clarify the focus and parameters of the study. Persons interviewed included interest group leaders, legislative counsels and executive agency officials in the Governor's Office, the Division of the Budget, the Office of Planning Coordination and the State Education Department.

On the basis of information gathered through documentary searches and unstructured interviews, a sharper focus for the study was delineated. Structured interviews with interest group leaders were then carried out to discover their perceptions of the legislative process as it concerns educational policy-making. These perceptions were checked against those of legislators to determine the extent of perceptual congruency between these two groups. Structured interviews were conducted with leaders of the following organizations:

Big Six School Boards Association
Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc.
Conference of Mayors, New York State
Educational Conference Board
Empire State Federation of Teachers / United Federation of Teachers
New York Schools Boards Association
New York State Teachers Association

Finally, an in-depth survey instrument adopted from Wahlke, et. al. (1962) was administered to state legislators. Of the 207 state legislators in the 1969 New York State Legislature (150 Assemblymen and 57 Senators), 117 responded to a request for a substantial time commitment to complete the survey instrument (90 Assemblymen and 27 Senators). This represents a 57 per cent response (60% of all Assemblymen and 47% of all Senators). The instrument was administered by the investigators and advanced graduate students in Educational Administration and Political Science from the State University Centers at Buffalo and Albany. Resultant data were coded, programmed and run on computers at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

The remainder of the paper will summarize data which are comparative in nature--contrasting perceptions of educational interest group leaders with those of state legislators concerning the educational policy-making process at the state level, particulary within the state legislature. The first task will be to summarize the methods pursued by selected educational interest groups in influencing the policy-making system. The second task will be to present findings of the survey of state legislators concerning their perceptions of the policy-making system. The focus will be on the extent to which these perceptions are compatible. Implications will then be drawn concerning the effectiveness of educational interest groups' influencing activities.

The Educational Interest Groups: How They Attempt to Influence Processes

In this section the tactics pursued by selected educational interest groups in influencing educational legislation, as reported by leaders of these groups, will be described. These groups include the New York State Teachers Association, the New York School Boards Association, the Council of School District Administrators, and the coalition body to which these organizations belong, the Educational Conference Board. In addition the tactics of two organizations which are not members of the Educational Conference Board, the Conference of Big Six School Districts and the Empire State Federation of Teachers/United Federation of Teachers will be described. The section will be summarized by a description of commonalities and differences in tactics employed by these organizations.

Figure I presents, in capsulated form, the results of extensive conversations with educational interest group leaders concerning the policy-making process at the state level and ways in which these groups operate to influence that process. Although the groups vary in purposes, there are several commonalities among them which can be explored. That is, there appears to be a pattern of perceptions and activities which holds constant across these groups; patterns which, on the basis of past experience, they feel will maximize their influence on the policy-making process.

FIGURE I

Selected Educational Interest Groups: Perceptions of the Policy-M

Educational Interest Groups	Objective	View of the Control Point in the Policy-Process	Tactic fluenci Pr
New York State Teachers Association	Improved Working Conditions and Welfare of Teachers	Governor --- Office and Program	1. Reac ship Con 2. Supp tens
New York School Boards Association	Relief of Local School Districts from Burden of Excessive Financial Support for Education	Governor --- Executive Budget, Division of Budget and Office of Local Government	1. Expl to G sels 2. Reac ship Con 3. Talk the
Council of School District Administrators	Similar to NYSBA with Added Special Concerns for Maintenance of Their Position within the Educational Hierarchy	Governor --- Budget and Program	1. CSDA Legi 2. Reac ship Com 3. CSDA Influ of E 4. Adm Legi

FIGURE I

erest Groups: Perceptions of the Policy-Making Process

View of the Control Point in the Policy-Process	Tactics Employed in Influencing the Legislative Process	Persons Responsible for Influencing Policy-Making
Governor --- Office and Program	1. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 2. Supply Information (Extensive Research Capacity)	1. Executive Secretary and One or Two Key Staff Members. 2. Letters from Association Members.
Governor --- Executive Budget, Division of Budget and Office of Local Government	1. Explain NYSBA Program to Governor and His Counsels. 2. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 3. Talk with Legislators in the Districts.	1. Executive Secretary and One or Two Key Staff Members. 2. Regionally and Locally. School Boards Talk with Legislators.
Governor --- Budget and Program	1. CSDA Convention to Set Legislative Plans. 2. Reach Legislative Leadership and Chairmen of Key Committees. 3. CSDA Advisory Board to Influence Commissioner of Education. 4. Administrators Talk with Legislators in the Districts.	1. President of the Council. 2. Committee on Legislation. 3. Local Administrators Talk with Their Legislators.

Educational Interest Groups	Objective	View of the Control Point in the Policy-Process	Tactics fluencin Proce
Educational Conference Board	Increased State Support for Education: Encompasses Needs Which Cross Over Those of Individual Member Organizations	Governor --- Control of the Legislature	1. Studi tion a dition 2. Deve for I 3. Get I Gove 4. Capt Set U Legi 5. Vari Due Mem
Conference of Big City School Districts	Unique Fiscal and Programming Needs of the Large Cities	Governor and Mayors and Other City Officials	1. Influ Offic Gove 2. Influ of Ec Gove 3. Data lativ Key 4. Data Boar to In

e Control Point icy-Process	Tactics Employed in Influencing the Legislative Process	Persons Responsible for Influencing Policy-Making
--- of the Legislature	1. Studies of Costs of Education and the Fiscal Condition of School Districts. 2. Development of Programs for Legislation. 3. Get Program Adapted by Governor. 4. Capture Commissions Set Up by Governor and Legislature. 5. Various Tactics Developed Due to Diversity of Membership.	Constituent Groups
and Mayors and y Officials	1. Influence Mayors and City Officials to Contact the Governor. 2. Influence Commissioner of Education to Contact Governor. 3. Data Gathering for Legislative Leadership and Key Committees. 4. Data Gathering for Local Boards and Administrators to Influence Legislators.	Executive Secretary

Educational Interest Groups	Objective	View of the Control Point in the Policy-Process	Ta flu P
Empire State Federation of Teachers / United Federation of Teachers	Improved Working Conditions and Welfare of Teachers, Especially in New York City	Governor and N. Y. C. Mayor and Other City Officials	1. I C C 2. I I C

of the Control Point e Policy-Process	Tactics Employed in Influencing the Legislative Process	Persons Responsible for Influencing Policy-Making
rnor and N. Y. C. Mayor Other City Officials	1. Influence Mayor and City Government of New York City. 2. Influence N. Y. C. Area Legislators Who Then Contact Upstate Legislature.	1. President of UFT. 2. Legislative Representative.

All of these educational interest groups see the governor's office as the critical access point to the policy-making process. Several reasons were given by respondents for this conclusion. First, the governor, as a state-wide elected official is in a good position to bring state-wide influence to bear on an issue. Second, as the recognized leader of his party, he can bring great influence to bear on his party's state legislators. For the past several sessions of the New York State Legislature this has been especially important because the governor's party has controlled one or both chambers of the legislature. Third, the governor is responsible for developing an executive program and an accompanying executive budget which forecasts the state's programmatic and fiscal needs and, in turn, establishes the major tasks for legislative activities. Thus, in the view of the educational interest groups his unique position makes the governor a critical entrée point to the policy-making process.

Within the legislature itself, interest group leaders focus their activities on the legislative leadership. Typically educational interest groups define "legislative leadership" as the Speaker, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the Chairman of the Educational Committee in the Assembly and the Majority Leader, the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Chairman of the Education Committee in the Senate as well as the minority leader in each chamber. A secondary tactic, and one less universal in application, is to influence individual legislators in their home district. In this instance, contact activities are carried on by the interest group membership.

In most instances educational interest group leaders reported that their most important influencing mechanism is the information gathering potential of their organizations. This is particularly true of the New York State Teachers Association, the Educational Conference Board and the Conference of Big City School Districts. The basic assumption behind the data gathering activities of these organizations is that through their unique ability to provide necessary information, they are able to influence the processing of educational legislation. Often other educational interest groups, such as the New York School Boards Association and the Council of School District Administrators use the data gathering capacities of these organizations rather than carry on this costly research process.

Responsibility for carrying on the activities of the interest groups appears to reside both at the state and the local level. That is, in most instances there is an office established in the state capital with at least one individual responsible for the daily activities of the organization, including visits with the governor's aides and the legislative leadership. At the same time it is expected that, as organizational objectives concerning educational legislation develop, members within the organization will apply pressure on their legislators from "the grass-roots" level. In addition, the urban oriented educational interest groups attempt to involve local governmental officials to press legislators and the governor for educational needs.

In summary, then, educational interest groups 1) see the governor's office as the focal point for influencing policy-making activity; 2) view the legislature as centrally controlled by a handful of legislators who hold key positions within that body; 3) feel that their most potent weapon in influencing the policy-making process is their ability to gather necessary data concerning the state of education in New York, and make subsequent recommendations concerning the need for policy modifications; and 4) vest the power of influencing the policy-making process in the hands of one or two organization officials who maintain contact with policy-making officials in Albany, but expect that the membership throughout the state will provide local pressure to their individual legislators to achieve organizational objectives concerning educational legislation.

The Legislature: Perceptions of Policy-Making Processes and the Influence of Interest Groups

Bringing about desired policy change is a long and complex process. Much of this occurs long before formal measures are introduced in the legislature (e.g., policy modifications begin in dissatisfaction stages, are developed in crystalization of opinion stages, and surface as formulation of alternatives to present policies in extensive debate stages). The legislature formally becomes involved late in the process, once ideas have been outlined and support has been developed.* At this point, the legislature becomes the focal point for translating proposals into state policy. How legislators perceive the process at this latter stage is important for the way the legislature treats the many bills which are introduced annually into the legislative hopper (up to 15,000 in a single legislative session).

The ways in which the legislature goes about its task of making policy relate directly to behavioral norms which develop over time. Legislators operate within a set of real and imaginary constraints which significantly affect how they interact with their fellow legislators and with persons outside the legislative body. They are subject to much pressure from individuals and groups, both within and outside of the state legislature. Within the legislature they interact with their colleagues, committee chairmen and party leaders. Outside of the legislature they interact with executive agency personnel, interest group representatives and various subgroups within their constituency. All of these groups and individuals mix to influence legislators as they vote on educational issues.

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*It is understood that many legislators may become active in idea formulation and debate long before issues reach the legislature. However, as a formal body, the state legislature is not involved until the latter stages of the policy-making process.

New York State legislators in general do not see educational legislation as differing from other substantive types of legislation. In fact 78 per cent of those who responded to the survey feel that educational legislation is treated the same way as any other substantive legislation. Most legislators feel that conflicts within the legislature, based upon 1) the differences of needs of New York City and upstate New York; 2) party differences; and 3) the traditional distrust of the cities by suburbs and rural areas also affect the way educational legislation is handled in the legislature.

Legislators are highly sensitive to educational issues. In fact, 38 of the respondents noted that education is an area of particular interest to them. This is the most frequently noted area of substantive interest reported by legislators; the second most important area is local government, noted by only 14 legislators. This sensitivity toward educational matters is confirmed by perceptions of legislators concerning the most critical issues before the 1969 legislature. These issues were budgetary considerations (76%); decentralization of school districts (56%); public employee matters -- in particular the state's collective negotiations act (23%); and abortion (13%). Thus the three most important issues before the legislature, according to respondents, were all educational issues. With this background, we can return to the four general findings concerning perceptions and tactics of educational interest groups, to see how well they correspond to perceptions of legislators.

The Governor's Office as The Focal Point of Policy-Making Activity

The educational interest groups feel that the most critical point of entry to the policy-making process is the governor's office. Legislators, on the other hand, feel that the governor's influence is not nearly so great. In fact, a large minority (41%) reported that they give the governor's position little or no attention when voting on bills. Forty-two per cent feel that consideration of the governor's position depends on the specifics of particular situations.

When asked to rank the importance of specific groups on their views about educational legislation, legislators ranked the governor's executive agencies a poor eighth out of nine groups. Although it might be argued that the governor and the executive agencies can not be equated, the influence he has over these offices makes for a strong and direct relationship between them. In fact, several educational interest group leaders noted that they include these agencies in their attempts to influence the governor's program.

FIGURE II

Groups which are very important in influencing legislators' views about educational legislation

Groups	Percent of Legislators responding "very important" influencers
experts in the legislature	55%
people in the districts	48
education committees	39
educators back home	34
educational interest groups	25
legislative staff opinions	24
committees other than education	14
executive department agencies	8
party leaders	6

When the governor is perceived as influencial by legislators, it is 1) based upon his veto power (44%); 2) his relationship with the party leadership in the legislature (36%); and 3) the use of patronage at his disposal (32%). Interestingly, where educational interest group leaders feel that one of the critical influence bases available to the governor is his close relationship with the leadership within the legislature, legislators' responses did not agree with this view. A mere nine percent felt that the leaders play a significant role in overseeing the governor's program.

The Legislature as a Highly Centralized Policy-Making Body

Educational interest groups report that the focus of their activity within the legislature is upon the recognized leadership in each chamber. Educational interest group leaders concentrate their activity where they feel there is the most potential for results--within the formal leadership of the legislature because they believe the legislature is a highly centralized policy-making body.

Again, there is a significant difference in the way the educational interest group leaders and the legislators view the legislature's operations. Already noted is the fact that very few responding legislators (9%) view the legislative leaders as overseeing the governor's program. Also, as noted in Figure II, only six percent of responding legislators feel that their party leaders influence how they decide about how to vote on pending legislation.

There are additional data which indicate a wide discrepancy in perceptions of legislators and interest group leaders concerning the degree to which the legislature is a centralized decision-making body. A highly centralized legislative body requires the parties to maintain tight discipline among their members. However, only 38 percent of the responding legislators agreed that there is tight party discipline. Sixteen percent feel that there might be tight party discipline, depending upon the issue at hand. Most legislators acknowledged that they consider the views of their party leaders before they vote on a bill, but, contrary to expectations, only 32 percent noted that a critical factor in considering the party leader's position is whether the bill is a party measure. In fact, a majority of the respondents feel that there are definitely times when a legislator should not vote with his party. In particular, he should be free to vote the dictates of his conscience (55%) and should give preference to his district's needs over those of his party (59%).

The focal point of the legislative process is the committee system. It is to committees that individual legislators must bring proposed legislation for study, review and approval before it may reach debate and voting on the chamber's floor. The committee chairman plays a crucial role in the committee structure. Legislators feel (40%) that he is able to foster or hinder the flow of a bill. In fact, 24 percent of the responding legislators referred to the chairman as having "life or death" power over the destiny of a bill. It should be noted, however, that a similar number (26%) felt that the party leaders control the committees. Partially this is because the leadership makes committee chairmenship appointments. Nevertheless, 63 percent of the respondents recognized the fact that legislation is most expeditiously moved when legislators contact the appropriate committee chairman and/or other members of that committee. Suprisingly few (14%) feel it is necessity to speak with the chamber's leadership to assure the success of a measure. Legislators reported that they seek out other legislators about a bill because they have good judgment and general knowledge or have seniority and expertise, not because they are part of the chamber's leadership.

The Educational Interest Group's Most Important Weapon: Information Supply

No legislator can be an expert in more than a few substantive areas. Consequently it becomes important that sufficient information be made available if legislators are to understand measures upon which they must vote. As reported earlier, educational interest groups see their ability to present complete and accurate data for consideration by legislators as their most important influencing weapon. However, there are many sources to which legislators can turn for information concerning proposed legislation. These sources are both within and outside the legislature. When asked what are the most important sources of information available to legislators in studying the facts about bills, responding legislators noted the following:

FIGURE III

Sources of Information for Studying the Facts About Bills

Sources	Percent of Responding Legislators Noting Source
Centralized Legislative Research Agencies	74%
Interest Groups	24
Sponsor and Memorandum	20
Executive Agencies	16
Counsels, Legislative Staff, Committee Reports	13
The Leadership	5
Mass Media	4
Other Members	3

Information from interest groups ranked second, but far behind information sources from within the legislature itself and just ahead of several other information sources. In actual fact, in the past several years the legislature in New York has developed quite sophisticated information gathering systems in order to free itself of dependencies on the governor's executive agencies and outside interest groups. For example, when asked where they might turn to when no information seems available on a measure, only one percent said they check with interest groups for data. Actually interest groups ranked last in a list of 12 possible sources to turn for information.

Roles of Organizational Officials and Members in Influencing the Policy Making Process

Representatives of interest groups attempt to influence legislators in directions

which favor the needs of their memberships. Legislators spend much time in conversation with representatives of these groups and in reading their literature. Eventually they must decide how seriously to take their views into consideration when voting on legislation. It has already been noted that educational interest groups in New York see as their most potent influencing weapon, the collection and dissemination of data by one or two persons representing the membership of each group in the state capital. In addition, these organizations attempt to rally their memberships to influence their legislators at the district level.

According to responding legislators the three most powerful interest groups in New York are labor (79%), education (54%) and banking, finance and insurance interests (32%). Sixty-two percent feel that the size (or voting strength) of an interest group is its most important basis of power. Money (29%), effective propaganda (25%) and good organization (20%) trailed far behind the membership size criteria.* Educational interest group representatives, potentially, can use their large constituency size to good effect. This has not been tested extensively in New York, but legislators appear cognizant of the potential of such a voting block.

The most powerful interest groups in education, according to legislators are the Empire State Federation of Teachers / United Federation of Teachers (54%); the New York State School Boards Association (26%); and the New York State Teachers Association (23%). This ranking is somewhat unexpected because the New York State Teachers Association maintains a complex operation in the state capital, while the Empire State Federation of Teachers / United Federation of Teachers focuses its resources more at the local level, particularly in New York City. Another unexpectedly low visibility group is the Educational Conference Board (5%) which acts as a clearinghouse for so many major

educational interest groups in the state. Underlying the power of these specific groups, according to the respondent legislators are their voting strength (58%) and their knowledge/expertise/status bases (45%).

As noted in Figure II, educators back home rank above the formal interest groups as influencers. Of course these "educators back home" are, in reality, the local arms of the educational experts.

In summary then, concerning the four major variables discussed, the results indicate that there are several critical differences in perceptions of the policy-making process:

1. The governor's office as the focal point of the policy-making process.
   Interest group leaders perceive the governor and his executive agencies as the entrée point to the policy-making process. Legislators do not feel that the governor plays such an important role in this process. Rather, legislators feel that there is more policy-making initiative from within the legislature itself.

2. The legislature as a highly centralized body.
   Interest group leaders perceive the legislature as highly controlled by a few officers who carry the governor's program. Legislators feel that these party leaders have much less influence than supposed them by outsiders and that the leaders do not carry the governor's program in the legislature.

3. Information as a potent interest group activity.
   Educational interest group leaders feel that their most important influencing weapon is access to information which can be used by legislators in their decision-making process. Legislators feel that there are many sources of information at their disposal; interest group data is but one source and not often the most important.

4. Representation of interest group concerns.
   Educational interest groups concentrate their activities in the hands of a few men at the state capital and ask their membership to influence legislators from their home districts. Legislators feel that groups, educational and non-educational, from their home areas are more important than are the formal interest groups representatives in the state capital in influencing their actions.

Implications for Educational Interest Groups

These initial findings indicate that the New York State Legislature may not be so readily approached through "traditional" influencing strategies as it has been in the past. The strategies of the educational interest groups--focused on supplying information to the governor's office and the legislative leadership appear to have basic flaws. The governor's office may not have as much direct influence on the legislature as educational interest group leaders perceive. Similarly, the relative independence of legislators from the legislative leadership which respondents report indicates that representatives of the educational interest groups may have to differentiate their strategies within the legislature. Finally, the low visibility of the information gathering potential of educational interest groups reported by responding legislators indicates that educators had best find better ways of getting the facts they have gathered into the legislature's information net. One fact is clear; educational interest groups do not have a monopoly on information supply.

Even if the educational interest groups are able to make the necessary modifications to increase their impact at the state level, the results of the study indicate that the most important influence factor on the legislative process may, in the long run, be the ability of the memberships of these groups to influence legislators at the "grass-roots" level. Thus it probably is incumbent on these groups to step up activities at the school district and legislative district levels. This would require that they develop coordinating activities to enhance the potential for policy changes to come from these more decentralized levels. This would be a major change from the present state-wide program approach whereby the organizations concentrate their fiscal and human resources on lobbying activities at the state level.

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